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WALES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

WALES

IN THE

Seventeenth Century

ITS LITERATURE

AND

MEN OF LETTERS AND ACTION

BY

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TO MY FATHER
WHO TAUGHT ME THE LOVE OF READING
AND TO ALL STUDENTS
WHO LOVE WALES AND ITS PAST
AND CHERISH BRIGHT HOPES FOR ITS FUTURE.

PREFACE

THE only apology for bringing out this work in the midst of the Great War is that the writer undertook it during a period of enforced abstention from other activities, due to an accident.

The fortunate proximity of the University College Library, at Bangor, and the kindliness of its Librarian, the Rev. T. Shankland, M.A., who gave every facility for using the treasures he has accumulated with so much care and industry, relieved what would otherwise have proved a tedious period. The best tribute I can pay to Mr. Shankland's ready counsel and help is to quote the words of a student engaged in using the Library, who observed: "He is not niggardly with what he knows, and what he doesn't know of this Library is not worth knowing." It is the verdict of all who come into touch with Mr. Shankland in his capacity as Librarian.

The work has given much pleasure to the author, who hopes it may help to dispel part of the uncertainty which has enveloped some of the 17th century writers and their work, and lead to a further prosecution of other details not yet definitely ascertained.

Should this enterprise prove of interest to Welsh students and others, the writer has by him a collection of materials relating to the 16th and 18th centuries, which can be treated in the same way, with the additional advantage of the experience gained in the preparation of this volume.

At the moment of writing this preface, the news has come to hand of the bestowal by his gracious Majesty of the honour of Knighthood upon my former teacher and always esteemed friend, John Morris Jones, Professor of Welsh at the University College of North Wales, as a recognition of his life-long work in connection with Celtic studies, and I should like to acknowledge that the inspiration to this undertaking was the result of an encouraging

conversation with him as to the necessity of writing the literary history of Wales period by period.

The work falls far short of the ideal the writer had in mind, but the exigencies of the times and the multitudinous cares of a busy parish are some palliation for this, and will at least have weight in the verdict of indulgent readers.

My deepest thanks are due to Mr. Foster, the publisher, for all his care and trouble in printing the work.

J. C. MORRICE.

St. Mary's Vicarage,
Bangor,
January, 1918.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

THE writer hopes to present a careful and concise account of the Literature of Wales in a very important period of her history. For this purpose the works published during that period have been carefully examined—the original works, when possible, and failing that, the best extant editions of them. A survey has also been made of the different authorities upon whom reliance has been placed for our information concerning the authors of that century and their work. Every care has been taken to corroborate the statements made from some reliable source, and references are given.

The effort takes within its scope more than the works written in the Welsh language. It includes works written both in Latin and English, that have reference to Wales, which are necessary to a survey of this remarkable century, as far as it affected Wales.

The seventeenth century was an epoch adorned by men who were eminent in verse and prose, in philosophic learning and in religious effort, some of whom have a just claim to a place in the annals of European literature.

Perhaps Wales during this period had lost some of that distinctiveness which marked her literature in the period prior to her union with England, but she gained access into a wider world of ideas and benefitted by the change. The moral and religious aims of man claimed her serious attention during this period, and although she failed to give that mature expression to them, which came later, yet the very struggle to give them expression helped to develop her life. As the century wore on, she got rid of the inactivity which had threatened to devitalize her during its early years and which had made them so barren of literature.

There have been few periods of greater interest than this, and yet it is almost devoid of one element which had been prominent in earlier periods. The *bards* were no more. Elizabeth had revived them by granting her gracious sanction

and support to the Eisteddfod at Caerwys in 1568, but, strangely enough, in forty years afterwards the cult of bardism was almost extinct. The secret of this was that the aristocracy of Wales no longer kept the *Bardd Teulu* nor the *Pencerdd*[1] upon their hearths. The great Elizabethan period drew men's minds towards England, and before the end of her reign the Welsh aristocracy were well on the way to become Anglicised.

To some extent also, the bards had been their own undoing. The stern injunctions against the *clerwyr* adopted at Caerwys were very desirable from the point of view of the better bards, for the *clerwyr* were itinerant beggars who brought the profession of bardism into disrepute, and, no doubt, the matter needed firm handling at Caerwys. But it must not be forgotten that out of the ranks of the *clerwyr* sprang many of the better bards. Their disruption emptied the reservoir of bardism instead of filtering and clarifying its waters. There was no longer any inducement to take up bardism as a profession. This involved a loss which was directly apparent in the first half of the century, in which the number of bardic effusions produced was very small. It had, however, a compensating advantage, for those who sang, sang not for love of gain but for pure love of the Muse and nothing else. Hence the few poets we have in the seventeenth century whose works have been preserved, composed most worthily, and this remark applies more particularly to the poems of Huw Morus, of Pont-y-meibion, as will be seen later. The great disadvantage of the drastic reforms made at Caerwys was that probably many a "mute inglorious Milton" was baulked of his chance, for bardism became confined to the upper and leisured classes. When it is remembered, as has been stated, that these classes tended to become Anglicised, it sufficiently explains the paucity of poetical works in this century. But to it must be further added the fact that no Eisteddfod was held to give an impetus to the bards. One writer points out that neither in Gwynedd nor in Powys was there an Eisteddfod from 1568 to 1798, in which latter

[1] Gweirydd ap Rhys *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, p. 37.

year Owain Myfyr and the London Gwyneddigion Society revived it.[1] The sole exception mentioned (and there seems but little foundation for this) was one held in 1620 entitled "Cadair Morganwg," but, granted that it took place, it was no national affair, and is only claimed as a small literary meeting.[2] It is asserted that only four bards were present, and of their president, Watkin Powell, very little is known.[3] The memorable and outstanding bards of the century were Huw Morus, already mentioned, Vicar Prichard, Edward Morus, Edmund Prys, and William Phillip.

Prose writers, however, were very numerous. This was above all the age of controversy, especially the last half of the century. The atmosphere was that of strife and was more conducive to prose than verse. The political and religious struggles of the period resulted in a veritable crop of literature—books, tracts, and pamphlets. Many of them are worthless to-day, except to show how the battle raged, and what fierce assaults and dogged resistance are to be expected when man is stirred deeply in matters of the soul and conscience. Two centuries and a half have not quite obliterated the effects of the acrimony of those times, although signs are not wanting that in the new age which is dawning this bitterness will be consigned to the oblivion which it deserves.

Fortunately, in the first forty years of the century, men's minds were free from turmoil, and were thus able to devote themselves to a form of literary work which has been most profitable to the Welsh nation. Bishop Richard Davies, Dr. John Davies, Rowland Heilyn, Thomas Middleton, and Rowland Vaughan were indefatigable during those years in their efforts to give the Cymry the Scriptures in a revised form, and translations of some of the best devotional works of the period. In the latter half of the century Stephen Hughes and other able writers did a like service to their countrymen.

[1] Gweirydd ap Rhys *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, p. 397. [2] *ibid.*
[3] Jones' *History of Wales*, p. 225.

The desire for literature which the Reformation period had fostered in England came later in Wales. It must be remembered that the population of the country was scanty and poor, and that there were very few educational facilities. Wales had no Press, and its remoteness from the leading printing firms increased the difficulties of publishing. Most of the Welsh books of this period were printed in London or on the Continent. Occasionally books were printed at Oxford, *e.g.*, *Ystyriaethau Drexelius ar Dragwyddoldeb*, 1661, but Oxford was hardly more accessible than London. Also it was exceedingly difficult for English compositors to deal with Welsh orthography, which accounts for a great many inaccuracies in the works published at this time. It was not until towards the end of the seventeenth century, in 1685, that a printing press was established at Shrewsbury by Thomas Jones.[1] The first book was printed in South Wales in 1718, at Adpar, Newcastle Emlyn, on the Cardiganshire side. North Wales had no press until 1735, when Lewis Morris established one at Holyhead.[2] Others were established at Bodedern, Bala, Trefriw (1755), and Denbigh. It meant an immense expenditure in time and money to bring out a Welsh book, because it generally necessitated the presence of the author to read the proofs. This fact sufficiently explains why so many works of this and the preceding periods still remain in MS.,—a number out of all proportion to those which have seen daylight in print.

Translations rather than original works were the vogue in this century, and the remark especially applies to religious books. In religion as well as in politics it was a period of transition. Wales had lagged behind England in reaping the fruit of the Reformation. Her innate conservatism, perhaps, explains this. But there came a time when her leading divines realised it, and they did what was best and wisest under the circumstances, and that which enabled Wales to cover the lost ground most quickly.

[1] J. Blackwell says 1690 (see *Ceinion Alun*, p. 72.)

[2] It is claimed that there was a book printed at Montgomery in 1648. See chapter I. of this work. It is believed there was a moveable press during the Civil War period, and this would account for it.

They translated into Welsh the choicest of the English religious productions—"The Practice of Piety," "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," "Drexelius on Eternity," and other works which had long been devotional books in England.

The antiquarian was very busy in this century, Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt standing head and shoulders above his fellows in this respect. He had in Dr. Thomas Ellis and John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy most able coadjutors, and there was a number of other antiquarians of quite appreciable ability.

Nor was there lacking considerable zeal for grammar and lexicography, two branches of knowledge in which Dr. Thomas Williams and Dr. John Davies greatly excelled.

The most purely original writer of the period was Morgan Llwyd of Gwynedd, whose works have now been carefully edited by the late T. E. Ellis, M.P. for Merionethshire, and Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., of Cwrt Mawr. Another original production of the time was "Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant" by Charles Edwards.

No introduction to the study of the literature of this period would be complete which failed to point out how restless a time it was, how the landmarks both in Church and State were disturbed, and how old ideas were consigned to oblivion and new hopes engendered. High goals were aimed at, nothwithstanding failure and disappointment in many directions. It has been said that for Wales the seventeenth century was the period of the grey dawn between night and day. It saw the beginnings of a religious revival and the birth struggle of the educational movement, and it tasted something of the power of popular government. There were losses, but there were also gains which, when substantiated, more than compensated for the former.

The old form of religion and much that was romantic in the former centuries were lost, but new seeds were planted which, despite many forebodings to the contrary, grew and prospered and have made for progress.

The old traditions of Welsh bardism, as has been stated,

disappeared, but they can hardly be mourned as losses when we have in their stead the choice lyrics of Huw Morus and the neat epigrams of John Owen.

It is matter for regret that the Welsh gentry were no longer in the same degree the supporters and patrons of Welsh literature. Rowland Vaughan and Robert Vaughan were amongst the last of them, and the spirit prominent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was lacking in this century. But there was ample reason for the change when we take into account the circumstances of the time. A century of battle and oppression, imprisonment and bloodshed, prejudice and revenge, was bound from its very nature to upset the normal order of things. It was certainly one of the results of the Civil War that men's minds drifted into other channels and became engrossed with larger issues than "building up the rhyme" or, in fact, being absorbed in literature of any kind, and this applied in a special degree to the more responsible inhabitants of Wales, the men of education and property, who had to make decisions and stand by them. This fact is sometimes lost sight of in the sweeping condemnation that has been made of the neglect of literature and especially of bardic lore by the Welsh gentry.

One of the most remarkable features of the century was the rise of many men of plebeian origin who came into prominence during the Civil War period. Amongst them there was no more notable case than that of John Jones of Maesygarnedd, better known as John Jones, the Regicide. He was the first Welshman to take a foremost part in political work in Great Britain. He held many responsible posts, and was one of Cromwell's lieutenants in Ireland. He was one of the signatories to the warrant for Charles I.'s execution, and himself was beheaded in the first year of the Restoration. The death of Charles was a matter to be deplored by all right thinking men, and there are very few left who would now maintain its justice or necessity. Still, the death of a man like John Jones, the son of a Welsh cottager, for signing away the King's life marks the great revolution that had

been worked in the country by the middle of this remarkable century.[1]

Much as Charles I.'s execution is to be deplored, it must be admitted that John Jones, and many others who shared his fate, suffered for new ideals of popular government which were beginning to gather strength, as against the ancient order which, although it reasserted itself for a time during the reigns of the last two kings of the Stuart dynasty, was doomed to be extinguished for ever as soon as William of Orange mounted the throne.

In religion, as has been remarked, the Reformation had gained very little footing in Wales in the early years of the seventeenth century. There had been no preparation for it as there had been in England. Wales had not its Wycliffe, and the temperament of the nation being what it is, a proclamation by law had had very little effect upon the Welsh religious mind. It is doubtful whether, except superficially, the worth of the Reformation was recognised or its influence felt. Yet there were not wanting some indications that Roman Catholicism was on the wane. Testimony is borne to this in the fate meted out to John Roberts, a devoted Jesuit priest, who had been educated at Oxford and at Valladolid, in Spain. When he returned in 1602, full of zeal to infuse his countrymen afresh with Roman Catholicism, he was persecuted and imprisoned, and died on the scaffold in 1610. This is proof that the change was slowly coming, although it is very uncertain how far the popular mind would have endorsed the official action in the case of Roberts. This execution did not deter Father John Salesbury from writing in 1618 "Eglurhad helaethlawn o'r Athrawiaeth Gristionogawl," which shows that the Romanists were striving to maintain their hold upon Welshmen by giving them an exposition of their faith in the Welsh tongue.

But, if Roman Catholicism was on the wane, it is equally true that the Reformed Church had not, as yet, filled up whatever

[1] See Mr. J. H. Davies' Introduction to *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*.

void there might have been felt by the weakening hold of Roman Catholicism upon the masses of the Welsh people. The truth is that the Church in its reformed state had been placed at a very serious disadvantage. The monasteries had been disendowed and the resources of the Church to carry on her work curtailed beyond measure. No where could this have been more felt than in a poor country like Wales.

It is generally admitted that the drastic policy of Henry VIII. did great spiritual harm in that it provided no resources in the place of those which had been plundered. It was like the incomplete work of a surgeon who cuts away the evil growth but neither mollifies with ointment nor binds up the wound. Henry was, in fact, an unskilful surgeon who left the Church incised and bleeding. The land and revenue of the Church had passed into the hands of the nobles, and she could not possibly maintain her former organisation and fulfil her obligations to the nation on the scant store that was left her.

But in spite of her difficulties there is no doubt that in the first half of the seventeenth century the Church was increasing in respect and usefulness. This is admitted by all impartial historians, and can be verified by any student of the period. Her bishops, for the most part, were Welshmen and Welsh-speaking Welshmen. It was very different from the Hanoverian period in this respect. There were exceptions, but it must be admitted that although not Welsh-speaking, they were men of great eminence who, in some cases, afterwards held the highest offices in Church and State. It was Laud's High Commission Court that brought the Church into bad odour. There are numerous cases recorded of Welsh clergy who were cited to appear before it for various offences, and these citations were the cause of much friction. This is far from saying that all who were cited to appear before Laud were unjustly accused. But some were called up for what would be regarded by the majority of their parishioners as trivial matters, and when a hard working parish priest held in high esteem by his flock was put to the inconvenience, expense, and

anxiety, which a citation of this kind involved, this intrusion would naturally be resented by many thoughtful people who were quite loyal Churchmen. It would be deemed an interference with freedom, and would clash with the temperament of many high-spirited Welshmen of that age.

The other stumbling-block was the "Book of Sports," which was commanded to be read in the churches. The Welsh were, for the most part, strict Sabbatarians, and it seemed to them desecration that the quiet of their Sunday should be disturbed by any rioter or roysterer who could say that he had attended *one* of the services of the Church. There is no doubt that the declaration was felt as an affront by many serious-minded men.

This was therefore the position in the first half of the seventeenth century—Roman Catholicism was on the wane, the Church depleted in revenue failed to perform all her obligations, and seeds of disaffection were being sown by such measures as the two above-named.

Add to this that Puritanism in England was on the increase, and that Wales during the Civil War was drawn into the vortex of the most stirring events which ever quickened a nation's pulse, and we have a third far-reaching cause for the spread of Puritanism in Wales before the end of the century.

How far the clergy in Wales neglected their duty is a matter very difficult to determine. In the absence of very definite proof to the contrary, the impartial historian must give them the benefit of the doubt and content himself with the knowledge that the times were degenerate and that the standard of life was not as high as it might have been. Even Huw Morus, the most chaste of the bards had, apparently, his moments of levity and verged on coarseness, although his own life was above reproach. His "Mabinogion" are the product of the age, and were quickly put aside when discretion and responsibility raised the bard above such foibles. But they are interesting in throwing light upon the moral standard of that age; and although it can be said that their duty would be to rise above it, the clergy, like other men,

would reflect their environment. In any case, there would be a certain number affected by the laxity of the times, and when, subsequently, the conscience of the country was quickened, as it must have been by the dread events through which it passed, this laxity would excite no small notice and incur the censure it deserved. Even in the case of men who had reformed their lives, public opinion would not judge them leniently, and it would not be easy to forget their past. But, granted that a proportion of the clergy failed to realise their high calling, it is beyond all question that the majority were men of learning and godly life. Many of them were life-long friends of the most extreme Puritans and were held in high esteem by them, and it is noteworthy that the more moderate Puritans gave them ungrudging support.

The probability is, that had there been no political conflagration, the Church in Wales would have made good her position during the last half of the century, inasmuch as she had weathered the first half in spite of her difficulties, as the cumulative testimony of many writers proves. A study of Dr. Calamy's work[1] on the one hand, and Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," which was a reply to "Dr. Calamy's *Abridgement* of the Life of Mr. Baxter," on the other, leaves one in little doubt, that each side under political influence, pressed its advantage too far, when the opportunity offered. It is ever so in troublous times when man's reason becomes subject to his prejudice, and moderation, which is a tempered product begotten of looking at both sides of a question, is accounted a quality akin to cowardice or, at least, to weakness.

The fact remains that Puritanism increased considerably and planted itself firmly in the hearts of a section of the Welsh people before the end of the period under notice. Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians worshipped in comparative freedom before its close, following upon the Toleration Act of 1689, which removed many disabilities grievous to be borne.

[1] Calamy's "Ejected Ministers."

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

The literature produced in Wales, or pertaining to it, in the seventeenth century, will for the purposes of this work be classified under the following divisions:

I. Historical, Archæological, and Topographical.
II. Religious Works.
III. Poetical Works.
IV. Grammar and Lexicography.
V. Miscellaneous.

It has been thought the better plan to give a connected account of each of these separately, than a promiscuous account in the order of their production, although, as far as possible, chronological order will be observed in each division. As the interest of the student is increased when facts can be associated with some personal entity, an effort has been made to collect accurate biographical details of the persons mainly concerned in making the seventeenth century the important literary epoch it proved to be.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL, ANTIQUARIAN, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

(a) The Period before the Civil War.

(b) The Civil War Period.

(c) The Second Insurrection Period.

(d) Satires and Lampoons.

(e) The Commonwealth Period.

(f) The Period of the Restoration to the end of the 17th Century.

(a) THE PERIOD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

The number of books and tracts to be considered under this head is not very numerous, but inasmuch as it includes the works of such men as Camden and Usher this section forms a most instructive part of the literature of the period.

A writer of great distinction whose mind was steeped in antiquarian learning was the celebrated **William Camden.*** In 1602 he edited *Giraldi Cambrensis Cambriæ Descriptio.* This was a second edition of Giraldus' work; the first had been published by Dr. David Powell in 1585.[1]

In 1603 Camden issued *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, which is really part of a fuller work which appeared in the same year under the title *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus Scripta, Gul. Camdeno, Asserus Menevensis, de Ælfredi rebus; Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Ang.; Ypodigmœ Neusbriæ, per Tho. de Walsingham; Itinerarium Cambriæ Auctore Sylv. Giraldo Cambrense, cum annotationibus D. Poveli.* This larger work which was printed at Frankfort consists of ten parts, of which the last two, *Itinerarium Cambriæ* and *Cambriæ Descriptio* have reference to Wales, which owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. David Powell and William Camden for presenting anew the interesting accounts of Giraldus' "Itinerary" and "Description of Wales." It will be remembered that Camden had published his own great work "*Britannia*" in 1586, seven years before he became the head of Westminster School. This went through many editions, several of which were published in the 17th century.

*William Camden, surnamed the learned, was son of Sampson Camden, a native of Lichfield, and one of the painter-stainers of London, where William was born in 1551, in the parish of St. Sepulchre. He was educated at Christ Church Hospital, then newly founded, and thence proceeded to the Free School founded by Dean Colet. In 1566 he became a chorister at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he just missed being a Demy, "though of great desert." He was transferred to Pembroke College and afterwards to Christ Church. He lost a Fellowship of All Souls for "defending the

[1] Llyfr. y Cymry, p. 30.

In 1604 he published his "*Remains of a greater work concerning Britain*," an interesting book of fragments gathered while he was engaged upon "*Britannia*," which is the greater work to which the title alludes, and which was published in folio in 1607.

In 1610 appeared "*A Description of the Counties of Wales*," from Holland's[1] edition of Camden.

In 1614 Camden's "*Remains concerning Britain*" was published by John Legatt, and in 1623 another edition of the "*Remains*" appeared.

In 1639 was published, at Amsterdam, "*Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales, regnante Elizabetha. Auctore Guillielmo Camdeno.*"

In 1637 the "*Remains concerning Britain*" was again published "by the industry and care of John Philipot, Somerset Herald and W. D., Gent." This is stated on the title-page to be the *sixth* impression of the "*Remains*," and, it is added, "with many rare antiquities never before imprinted." This was followed by the seventh impression of the same work by the same editors in 1674.

In 1695 the last edition of "Britannia" which appeared in

religion then established," the Popish party in All Souls having opposed him. In 1575 he became second master of Westminster School, and Parry, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was one of his scholars there. He made several journeys to obtain the information which he incorporated in his "Britannia," a work which was written "at spare hours and on festival days." His patron, Gabriel Goodman, defrayed the charges for these journeys, one of which in 1590 he undertook into Wales in the company of Francis Goodwin of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. In 1593 he was made Head of Westminster School where, in 1597, he published his Greek Grammar. In that year he was created Herald of Arms and afterwards King of Arms "at the favour of Queen Elizabeth." In 1621 he founded the History Lecture of Oxford University. Wood describes him as "an exact critic and philologist, an excellent Grecian, Latinist, and Historian, and above all a profound antiquary, as his elaborate works testifie." "His fame will be permanent so long as this kingdom is known by the name of *Britannia*." He died in 1623, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. *a*

a For further information and description of his works, see Ath : Oxon : I. 408 - 411.

[1] Holland had been educated under Camden at Westminster. See Williams' "*Eminent Welshmen*," p. 219.

this century was published by Bishop Gibson and printed in London. Three others[1] appeared in the 18th century, which showed the popularity of the work amongst scholars.

George Owen (1552-1613) of Henllys, Lord of Kemes, in the County of Pembroke, did great service by writing *The Description of Penbrokshire* in 1603. He was a great lover of that County and gloried in its title, "Little England beyond Wales." There is no record of the place of his education, but he was a most capable and industrious writer, especially on matters concerning his own County and the "Barony of Kemes." In 1587 and 1602 he served as Sheriff of Pembroke. He had intended to publish a second part of the above work, but it never reached completion. The *Description of Penbrokshire* was edited by Fenton in the second volume of the *Cambrian Register* in 1796, but it was a work full of blemishes. The map of Pembrokeshire appended to George Owen's work is a facsimile of that furnished by him to William Camden for the sixth edition of *Britannia* (1607). He also wrote *Taylors Cussion*, which has since been published with a short biography of the author, by Emily M. Pritchard (Olwen Perys) in 1906. Mr. Lleufer Thomas, who has written the account of George Owen for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has recently published his *Description of Milford Havon.* He was a most prolific writer, and amongst his other works may be mentioned, *Baronia de Kemes* and the *Vairdre Book.*

In 1609 appeared "*A Myrroure for Magistrates.*" The original "*Mirror,*" which appeared in 1559, is generally ascribed to William Baldwyn, a noted poet of his time, and is a piece of historical poetry relating the acts of unfortunate Englishmen, commencing with the fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, and ending with George Plantagenet, third son of the Duke of York. It is, however, stated by Francis Meres in the second part of *Wits Commonwealth* that the author was Edward Ferrers.[2] It is quite certain that two of the poems, "The fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England" and "The unlawful murder of Thomas of Woodstok, Duke of Glocester" are the work of

[1]See *Llyfr. y Cymry* under dates 1701, 1772, 1789. [2]Athenae Oxonienses i. 113.

Ferrers.[1] The purport of the work is to show by examples how evil-doers "are punished by grievous plagues." The Welsh interest of the 1609 edition centres round its references to Morgan, King of Morganwg; Cadwaladr, and Owain Glyndwr. It describes the pursuit of the latter by Prince Henry, and his miserable death from starvation.

In 1610 John Speed published a map of the Principality, the first of its kind, together with separate maps of each County in Wales and Monmouthshire. On many of them there is given a short description of the county, its inhabitants, and most important towns. In that of the Principality, appear views of some of the towns and cities. In 1614, the same author published "*The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*," * in which he aimed at giving "an exact geography." Wales and its counties are herein described. (Another edition of the work appeared in 1676). In 1616, John Speed showed his further interest in Wales by publishing "*The Seconde Booke, containing the Principality of Wales, delivering an exact Topographie of the Counties, Divisions of the Cantreves and Commotes, Description of the Cities and Shire Towns: with a compendious Relation of things most memorable in every one of them performed*," and in 1627 appeared an abridgement of this larger work.[2]

A work entitled "*A Map of Commerce*," by Lewis Roberts, a native of Anglesey, who was at the time a merchant in London, and brother-in-law to the then Lord Mayor of London, was published in 1620. It is a folio volume and contains several Latin poems complimentary to the author, one by John Davies, probably Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd.[3]

*Wood says of John Speed's great work "As for Speed's part in the said History of Great Britain, it is such for style and industry, that for one who (as Martial speaks) had neither a Graecum χαῖρε or an *Ave Latinum*, is perhaps without many fellows in Europe. So much also have I understood of him by sure information, that he had no meaning in that labour to prevent great practick learnedness, but to furnish it for the common service of England's glory." Ath: Oxon: i. p. 452.

[1]Garnett and Gosse in their "History of English Literature," vol. ii. p. 131, state that Ferrers and Baldwin were jointly responsible. [2]*Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 85. [3]*Ceinion Alun*, p. 76.

Thomas Powell, who is more generally known by the title "A Cambrian" to distinguish him from another author of the same name who wrote later in the century, produced in 1601 "*The Passionate Poet*" (with a description of the Thracian Ismarus), and in 1603 a work entitled "*A Welch Payte to Spare Provender, or a Looking Backe upon the times.*" The former work brought him into considerable notice. He was also the author of a "*Direction for Search of Records in the Chancerie, Tower, Exchequer, for the clearing of all such Titles and Questions as the same may concerne, with the accustomed Fees of Search.*" 1622.

Another work which involved the investigation of the records in the Tower and other original MSS. was that compiled by Sir John Doderidge,* a Judge of the King's Bench, in 1630, under the title "*The History of the Ancient and Moderne Estate of the Principality of Wales, Duchy of Cornewall, and Earldome of Chester.*" This book was dedicated to King James, and was published after the author's death. It was considered of sufficient importance to necessitate a second edition in 1714.

A noted traveller of his time, Sir Thomas Herbert, kinsman of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, produced a volume entitled "*Travels in Wales,*" in 1635. Amongst other things he gives an account of Madoc ab Owain's departure for America taken from a MS. at Rhaglan Castle, one of the fortresses afterwards destroyed by Cromwell.[1] The landing of Madoc in America is now regarded as purely fictitious.

Sir Thomas Herbert also recounts his own visits to Asia and Africa, in publications issued in 1634 and 1638. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he sided with the Parliament and became a Commissioner, but afterwards, when put to guard Charles I. he seceded to the Royalists. He gave a historical account of the two last years of Charles I., entitled *Threnodia Carolina*, published in 1678. A very interesting portion of this history is given by

*Sir John Doderidge was born at Barnstaple, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He died in 1628. The learned Camden styles him *antiquarius insignis.*—Wood vol. i. pp. 442-444.

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 121.

Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses.[1] Herbert also assisted Dugdale with his "*Monasticon Anglicanum.*"

Three editions of the works of Gildas appeared in this century, the first in 1610 in the "*Bibliotheca Patrum,*" bearing the title "*Gildae de Excidio et Conquesta Britanniae Epistola.*" This is a great improvement on the imperfect publication of Gildas' work in 1525. In 1638 Thomas Habington, Hindlip Hall, Worcestershire, the father of William Habington, author of the *Castara,*[2] published "*The Epistle of Gildas, the most ancient British author, who flourished in the year of our Lord,* 546 . . . . . *faithfully translated out of the original Latin.*" In spite of the latter assertion, the translation is said to be a very faulty one. Another edition appeared in 1652, entitled "*A Description of the State of Great Britain, written eleven hundred years since.*"

Another writer to whom Wales is considerably indebted in this period is the distinguished Irish prelate and celebrated antiquarian, Archbishop Usher. During the period of his exile from Ireland he was closely associated with Wales, and did much to the advantage of the Welsh nation in reviving its knowledge of the Ancient British Church. His well-known work, "*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum,*" more generally known as "*The Primordia,*" concerns the antiquities of that church from its foundation to the end of the 7th century. Usher is an accepted authority on this period. He had graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1600, and on visiting this country in 1606, became acquainted with many noted antiquarians at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and took particular interest in old libraries. Returning to Ireland he became Professor of Divinity at Trinity and Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Subsequently he was promoted to the Bishopric of Meath in 1620, and became Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland in 1626. He was offered by Charles I. the Bishopric of Carlisle and accepted it. Then came the upheaval of the Civil War, when Usher lost his

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 690-705. [2] History of Eng. Lit. by Garnett and Gosse, vol. iii. p. 22.

emoluments and fell on evil days. Amidst the din of war in 1644, in retirement at Oxford, he published the works of Polycarp and Ignatius. He had by this time lost all his Irish estates, and driven to great poverty he took refuge in Wales where the Welsh gentry received him kindly. The Stradlings of St. Donat's Castle, who were foremost in the rank of beneficent patrons to literatteurs, gave a home to the Archbishop and his daughter, who had married Sir Timothy Tyrrel, governor of Cardiff Castle, which had now capitulated to the Parliament. It is related that on one occasion the mob fell upon the Archbishop and despoiled him of his MSS., a collection by which he set great store. They were, however, for the most part recovered through the efforts of the neighbouring gentry and clergy. The Archbishop is said to have derived much of his material for the "*Primordia*" from the MSS. in possession of the Stradlings at St. Donat's,[1] and from his intercourse with the learned antiquarian, Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who had an unrivalled collection of MSS. The full title-page of the work reads:

"Britannicarum | Ecclesiarum Antiquitates | Quibus inserta est pestiferæ | adversus Dei gratiam a | Pelagio Britanno in | Ecclesiam inductæ | Hæreseos Historia | Collectore | Jacobo Usserio | Archiepiscopo Armachano | totius Hiberniæ Primate | Dublinii | Ex Officinâ Typographicâ | Societatis Bibliopolarum | Anno CIↃIↃCXXXIX."

Another work of antiquarian interest was produced in 1639, the full title of which was "*Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones, in Re Ecclesiastica Orbis Britannici: viz., Pambritannica, Pananglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Mannica, Provincialia, Diocesana, ab initio Christianae ibidem Religionis ad nostram usque aetatem. Operâ & Scrutinio Henrici Spelmann.*" Sir Henry Spelman, the author of this work, which is briefly known as the "*Concilia*," was a Norfolk gentleman who was born at Congham in that county in 1562. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and thence passed to Lincoln's Inn to study

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 124.

law. But he retired from that profession to pursue the archæological studies in which he was engrossed, and produced many works of great interest which brought him into particular favour with Charles I. At his death in 1641, the King ordered that he should be buried at Westminster Abbey, close to Camden's Memorial. His "*Concilia*" is the only part of his work which includes Wales in its scope. A second edition of it was issued in 1664.

(b) THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD.

This period, which is one of the darkest in British history, albeit that it heralded a brighter dawn, produced very little literature in this part of our subject, that is of solid and abiding interest, as far as it affects Wales. But what there is enables us to follow the movements of that age of upheaval and unrest. As literature, many of the productions are almost worthless, but they are indispensable to the historian who requires detailed knowledge to reconstruct, bit by bit, the story of those chaotic times. Most of them are documents dealing directly with the war itself, as will be seen.

In 1640 an Act was passed "*for the Relief of his Majestie's Armie, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom.*" It is plain from this that a Civil War was already contemplated, for part of the Act was to appoint "Commissioners for the different Counties of Wales, previous to the Civil War." This Act was printed in Black Letter, and contains the names of the royal nominees for the Welsh counties, Hereford, and Shrewsbury, on the eve of the outbreak.[1]

A writer, wrongly supposed to have been Arise Evans,[2] took upon himself to interpret in English some of the old prophecies and cryptic utterances of the Welsh bards of a former age which refer to the coming of a saviour of the nation. His method is to take the Welsh verses separately and to insert below each its English translation. The "*Koronog Faban*," "*Hoian a*

[1] See J. C. Hotten's *Catalogue*. [2] *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Cymry*, p. 430.

Pharchellan" and other so-called prophecies are treated in this way. The title given to the work is "*A Bright Northern Star*," and Gwilym Lleyn has added the date as 1640. This is, however, incorrect. The work, which is of great interest, appeared in 1658. It is the first attempt to print some of the so-called prophecies, which previously existed in manuscript only. The full title of the book, taken from the copy in the University College Library at Bangor, is as follows :

"British and Out-landish Prophesies : most | of above a 1,000 years Antiquity, | the rest very Antient ; | Fore-telling | The several Revolutions which hath and | shall befall the Sceptre of England ; | the Coming in of the *Normans*, Continuance and Ex- | tirpation ; the late Warrs ; the late Kings death ; his High- | ness's Conquest and arrival to the Sceptre, Sovereigntie | and Government of *Great Brittain* ; the fall of the Turk, | Pope, Emperor of *Germany*, and most of the great | Princes of the world by their particular names ; | and that his *Highness* that now is shall | Conquer most of them :

Also

His *Highness's* lineal descent from the antient Princes of | *Britain*, clearly manifesting that Hee is the Conqueror | they so long prophesied of, Also, a short account of the late | *Kings* Original ; for | the satisfaction of the Intelligent in either | Tongue.

By Thomas Pugh, Gentleman.

London

Printed, and are to be sold by *Lodowick Lloyd* at his Shop | next to the Castle in Cornhill. 1658."

Bearing upon the unrest of the time is a tract entitled "Arguments proving the Jurisdiction used by the President and Counsell in the Marches of Wales over the Counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, to be illegall and injurious, and a meere incroachment beyond their appointed limits, and the Proofe is like a three-fold cord not easily broken. Viz. By Statutes. By Law Bookes. By Records. Printed for Thomas Wakley, 1641."

Petitions to the King and Parliament and kindred documents, and papers relating to the war, were of such frequent occurrence that their names only can be given here, leaving it to the historians to probe their full meaning and import:—

"The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Clergy, and others, inhabitants, subscribed of the six Counties of Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Carnarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, being the six shires of North Wales, as it was presented to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament, accompanied with 30,000 hands. Printed for F. Couls, 1641."

"Two Petitions presented to the King's most Excellent Majesty at Yorke, the first of August, 1642; the first from the Gentery, Ministers, &c., of the Counties of Denbigh, Anglesey, Glamorgan, and the whole Principality of Wales, &c. London, 1642."

"His Majesty's Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbighshire and Flintshire, 27 Sept., 1642."

In it Charles seeks the favour of these counties by making them lavish promises. He desired the Sheriffs to make known his purpose, for his press had been stopped.

"Two Speeches made in the House of Peers against Accomodation, by the Earl of Pembroke. 1642."

"Persuasion to Loyalty, or the Subject's Dutie, wherein is proved that resisting or deposing of Kings (under what specious pretences soever couched) is utterly unlawful. By David Owen. 1642."

"A Loving and Loyall Speech spoken unto the Excellency of our noble Prince Charles by Sir Hugh Vaughan, the 2nd of October, at Ragland Castle, in Monmouthshire, in Wales, also the manner of his brave entertainment, and a Relation of divers rich Presents brought unto him. 1642."

"A Collection of Sundry Petitions Presented to the King's Most Excellent Majestie by most of the Gentry, Ministers, Freeholders of Six Counties of North Wales, Hereford,

Chester, &c., in behalf of Episcopacie, Liturgie, and Church Revenue. 1642."

"To the Honourable Court The House of Commons, the Humble Petition of many Hundred Thousands, inhabiting within the Thirteene Shires of Wales, with their motion that their country may be more strongly fortified with Armes and Ammunition. 1642."

The complaint in this Petition was that Wales had been treated with disrespect, that many droves of animals had been taken from their lands, and that they had no arms to meet the depredations.[1]

The first document which mentions that the opposing forces had met in battle on Welsh soil was published in 1643 and entitled :

"A true Relation of the discomfiting and routing of the Earl of Carbery, and his forces of the County of Pembroke, manned and performed under God by the valiant and courageous gentlemen, Col. Rowland Laugharne, John Poyer, Mayor of Pembroke; Major Thomas Laugharn, Simon Thelwall, and Arthur Owen, Esq., Capt. Powel and Capt. Cuney, and other well-affected Commanders and Gentlemen, &c. London. 1643."

"A Copie of a Letter to the Lord Marquesse of Hartford from the Lords of His Majestie's Council. 1642," discloses a design upon the life of Lord Herbert and the raising of mounted troops and infantry in the County of Brecknock in support of Charles I. A pamphlet which appeared the following year relates the defeat of Lord Herbert. It is entitled :

"Famous victorie obtained by Sir William Waller against Lord Herbert and the Welch Cavaliers in the Forest of Deane, where 600 of the Welchmen were slaine, and 1,000 taken prisoners. 1643."

There are two documents which furnish the first evidence we have that the struggle, as far as Wales was concerned, was

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 132.

developing into a religious as well as a constitutional upheaval. This phase had been prominent in England from the start, and it is worthy of note that it spread from England into Wales. The first of these has been already mentioned, and was from the Episcopalians. The second was from their opponents and was presented to the King in 1643 when he was at Oxford. It runs :

> "The Copies of such Bills as were presented unto His Majestie at Oxon, for the suppression of Innovations in Churches and Chapels; the utter abolishing and taking away of the Bishops, Chaunters, Choristers, Scandalous Clergymen, Pluralities, &c., in Wales. 1643."

An interesting document published in 1642 throws light upon the leaders of the respective military parties in Wales. It is entitled :

> "Army List of Charles I. and the Parliament Troops; or the names of all the Officers in the "Royalist" Army, and those "Roundhead" Armies, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, giving the names of several Welsh Worthies. 1642."

By 1644, the Parliament was rapidly gaining the ascendency in the border counties and in other parts of the country (the two victories in South Wales have been noticed above), and in that year there was issued :

"A Declaration published by Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight," the purport of which was to deter those who would rally the King's forces in Wales, by making known the Parliamentarian successes. That the Parliament was also preparing for a public thanksgiving is seen from a pamphlet entitled :

> "God appearing for the Parliament. In sundry late Victories Bestowed on their Forces, which command and call for great Praise and Thanksgiving both from Parliament and People. Die Martis; 4 Martii. 1644. Ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, that Mr. Whitaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. Rous, and Mr. Millington, do peruse all the Letters that are come from Shrewsbury,

Plimouth, Scarborough, Gloucestershire, and Weymouth: and make a narrative out of them, of all God's great and late mercies upon the Parliament Forces, to be printed and read on the next day of Publique Thanksgiving. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com. Printed at London for Edward Husbands: March 10, 1644."

The interest of this document to Wales is that in the list of prisoners taken at Shrewsbury occur many Welsh names, and it also contains an account of the taking of Cardigan Castle by the Parliament Army, when they secured "five officers, 200 soldiers, six big guns, 150 smaller arms, and much ammunition and stores."

The tide of victory swept on for the Parliament as shown by the following publications. In April, 1644, was printed:

"A true relation of the Routing His Majestie's Forces in the County of Pembroke, under the command of the Earl of Carbery, by those valiant and courageous gentlemen, Colonell Rowland Langharne, John Poyer, Simon Thelwall, Thomas Langharne, and others well-affected. As it was sent in two several relations, of the Land fight, and Sea fight; The one to the Honourable Robert, Earl of Warwick. The other to the Honourable William Lenthal, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons. With the number of such Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, Castle Commanders, and Souldiers as are taken, and that County by God's blessing cleared of the enemy. 11 April, 1644. Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That these Relations be forthwith printed and published."

"A Letter from Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Meldrum, of the Great Victory (by God's Providence) given them in Raising the Siege from before Montgomery Castle. And how they routed and totally dispersed his Majestie's Forces, under the command of the Lord Byron: where they tooke all their Carriages, Arms, Ammunition, and made them fly to Shrewsbury, and Chester. 1644."

This contains a full account of the taking of Montgomery Castle and a "List" of about 200 Welsh officials who supported the King's cause.

"Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages, informed to the Parliament. 1644."

This is a tract which gives an account of the work of "Colonel Breese" in Pembrokeshire.

"Two great Victories, one obtained by the Earle of Denbigh at Oswestry, and how he took 20 Gentlemen of Wales, &c., the other Victory by Colonell Mitton. 1644."

"Sir T. Middleton's letter concerning the raising of the Siege at Oswestree. 1644."

"England's Tears for the present Wars, which for the Nature of the Quarrell, the quality of Strength, the diversity of Battails, Skirmishes, Sieges, &c., cannot be parallelled by any Age. 1644."

The author of this last was James Howell, a writer whose further works will be presently noticed. He gives in it an account of the sieges of Pembroke Castle, Montgomery, and Cardigan.

"An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for Raysing and Maintaining of Horse and Foot for Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Brecknock, Radnor, Glocester, and Hereford. 1644."

This was an important and historic tract published by the Parliament.

Two publications which appeared in 1644 showed the interest of Church religious leaders in the principles at issue in the Civil War. They are entitled:

"Discourse before the unfortunate Parliament at Oxford, on the only way to preserve life. By Griffith Williams. 1644."

And:

"*Jura Majestatis*," the Rights of Kings, both in Church and State. 1. Granted by God. 2. Violated by the Rebels, &c., and the Wickedness of the Faction of this pretended

Parliament at Westminster, their Rebellion, Murder, Roberie, &c. Oxford, 1644."

The author, Dr. Griffith Williams (1587 - 1672) was a prominent Welsh clergyman, who became Rector of Llanllechid, Dean of Bangor, and Bishop of Ossory. He was born at Llanrug in 1587, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, 1603, whence he proceeded to Cambridge. He then became chaplain to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, in 1614, Rector of St. Bennet's, London, chaplain to Charles I., Prebendary of Westminster in 1628, Dean of Bangor and Archdeacon of Anglesey, 1634, and Bishop of Ossory in 1641. He was a strong Royalist, and in addition to the two productions mentioned above, he had written "*Vindiciae Regum*" in 1643, for which he was imprisoned. He was also the author of "*The Discovery of Mysteries.*"[1] He was deposed from his bishopric during the Commonwealth, but it was restored to him in 1661. He returned to Ireland and died there in 1672, and was buried at Kilkenny Cathedral.[2] His religious books will be noticed later.

In 1645 appeared "A Letter from Captaine Richard Swanley to the Right Honourable, The Earl of Warwick, being a full relation of the taking of the town and castle of Cardigan, in Wales, by Major - General Laugharne, with above 100 commanders and common soldiers, and all the arms and ammunition therein, &c. Published by authority. London, printed for John Thomas. 1645."

"Several Letters of Great consequence intercepted by Col. Mitton, near Ruthyn, in Wales, concerning Irish Forces to be brought into England. 1646."

On November 2nd, 1645, a Public Thanksgiving was held at St. Paul's, London, "for the taking in of the Towns and Castles of Carmarthen and Monmouth in Wales." The sermon preached on the occasion by Simeon Ash, one of the Assembly of Divines,

[1] This was published in 1643 and dealt with the plots to overthrow the Established Religion. See Wood's *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. pp. 496 - 499.

[2] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 524 - 526.

was afterwards published under the title "Reall Thankfulnesse." It is claimed that it expressed the general feeling of the country at the time.[1]

Another paper issued in 1645 describes many victories of the Parliament in South West Wales, especially that at Haverfordwest. It is entitled:

"*Oriens ab Occidente*, or a Dawning in the West, as it was delivered in a Discourse to the Long Parliament, upon their day of Thanksgiving for several Victories in the West, by John Bond. 1645."

A similar "Thanksgiving Discourse" was delivered by Thomas Case before the Long Parliament in 1645 "for the gaining of the Towns in the West and for the dispersing of the Clubmen and the good success in Pembrokeshire."

The same year saw the publication of:

"An Ordnance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the more effectual putting in execution the Directory for Publique Worship, in all Parish Churches and Chappells in Wales."

In 1646-7 there were several productions relating to the history of the Civil War in Wales,, amongst which may be noticed:

"Contemplation upon these times, or, the Parliament explained to Wales. London, 1646."

The author of this book was John Lewis, Esq., of Glasgrug, near Aberystwyth, who styles himself "a cordiall Well-wisher of his Countries happinesse."[2]

"Conoway taken by Storme, By Major Generall Mitton. With the assistance of the Arch-Bishop of York [*i.e.* John Williams] . . . . . also how all the Irish were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea. . . . . London printed by I. C. 1646."

"The taking of Carnarvon, the Castle, Works, &c., by Major Generall Mitton, with the Articles agreed upon. June 5th, 1646."

[1] "*Carmarthen and its Neighbourhood*," by Spurrell, p. 5. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 140.

In 1647 the official documents relating to a rising in Glamorganshire were published under the title :

"A full relation of the whole proceedings of the late rising and commotion in Wales, under pretence for the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax;" and in the same year,

"A perfect Diurnal of Passages in Parliament," relating to the same rising in Glamorgan which also spread to other parts. There were in all about 1,000 men under arms and their leaders were "Sir Edward Thomas, Bart., Sir Richard Bassett, Sir Henry Stradling, Col. Kames, &c."[1] There followed a paper from a body of disaffected Parliamentarians entitled :

"A Declaration of Engagements, Remonstrances, Representations, Resolutions, &c., from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army, for setting his Majesty in his just Rights, and the Subjects in their Liberties and Freedom. 1647."

The gist of this was to condemn the action of the "Commissioners" in South Wales. It was stated that Sir William Lewis and a certain "Master Glynn" had helped rather than hindered Papists and Royalists. Especially had this happened in the case of Lord Carbery, Mr. Crane, Mr. Herbert, and others.[2] It implied that the country had been better governed by Charles, to whom the promoters of this Declaration now wished to restore their allegiance. The two first-named members thus accused wrote a reply on behalf of themselves and the rest, entitled :

"A Full Vindication and Answer of the Eleven Accused Members, Denzill, Sir William Lewis, John Glynne, and the rest, to the late Particular Charge or Impeachment. 1647."

How the money was raised for carrying on the struggle in the Civil War is instanced in a paper which appeared in 1647, which gives an account of the sums required from every shire in Wales, and a list of the names of the collectors in each county. It was issued under the title :

"An Ordinance for the Raising of Money to be employed

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 142. [2] *Hotten's Catalogue.*

toward the maintenance of Forces within the Kingdom. 1647." It was followed by another paper concerning taxation, bearing the title :

"A Declaration about North Wales and the Taxes. 1647."

This document has regard to some sums of money that had been raised from the poor in North Wales without the authority of Parliament. The latter required to know who the culprits were. It was also decreed in this year what forces should be maintained in North and South Wales respectively, and what regiments should be disbanded. One hundred mounted men under Col. Mytton in the North, and the same number under Col. Langhorn in the South were to be maintained. This arrangement appears in

"Several Notes declaring what Forces shall be continued in the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, &c. 1647."

. . . . . .

There is no more interesting figure in the Civil War Period than that of Judge David Jenkins (? 1582-1663), who played such a conspicuous part in relation to the particular events with which this chapter deals, that this is the most fitting place to recount something of his life and writings.

This eminent lawyer was born at Hensol, in the parish of Pendeulwyn, Glamorgan, about 1582. He entered St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, in 1597, at a time when there were several Welshmen there.[1] He then proceeded to Gray's Inn, and afterwards was appointed a Judge in South Wales, until the Civil War broke out, when his strong measures against rebels attracted notice. He was taken prisoner by Cromwell's Army at Hereford in 1645 and put into the Tower. When he was brought to his trial in Chancery he denied the authority of the Court. He was then committed to Newgate and impeached of high treason before the Commons. Refusing to recognise their authority he was fined £1,000, and remanded to prison in Wallingford Castle. Whilst there he tried to bring about a rupture between the Army and

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. 328-329, and Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 248-249.

the Parliament, but was unsuccessful. By an Act of 165c, arrangements were made for his trial before the High Court of Justice. Seeing little hope of escape, he determined to die with the Bible under one arm and Magna Charta under the other. But Harry Marten saved his life by reminding the Court that "sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ." Therefore, he was sent back to imprisonment at Windsor Castle, and eventually liberated in 1656. It was expected that at the Restoration he would be made a Judge at Westminster, but scorning the bribery of that corrupt period, he returned to his South Wales estate, and died at Cowbridge in 1663. Wood sums him up as "a vigorous maintainer of the rights of the crown, a heart of oak, and pillar of the law and of the people's liberties"[1]

His works are as follows :

"Judge Jenkins' Plea delivered unto the Earle of Manchester and the Speaker of the House of Commons, which was read in open Court. By David Jenkins, prisoner in Newgate, 1647." It was privately printed, and contained a sharp answer to the Parliament.

"An Apology for the Army, touching the 8 Querries upon the late Declarations, also touching Sedition falsely charged upon them. By David Jenkins, prisoner in the Tower of London. Printed 1647."

This is an argument whether the Army belonged to Charles or to the Parliament.

"Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament. 1647." This was also written from the Tower.

These three papers produced an answer "by H. P., Barrister of Lincoln's Inn," 1647 ; to whom Jenkins replied in :

"The Cordiall of Mr. David Jenkins. 1647,"—a very effective paper disposing entirely of his adversary's arguments. Nor was Jenkins afraid in his captivity in the Tower to

[1] For further details of his life, see Malkin's "*South Wales*."

challenge the doings of Parliament as unconstitutional and illegal. This he argues in :

"A Discourse touching the inconveniences of a Long-continued Parliament, and the Judgment of the Law of the Land in that behalfe. 1647."

H. P., or Henry Parker, as he proved to be, again assailed him with "An Answer to the Poysonous Sedicious Paper by Mr. David Jenkins. 1647," to which, as far as we know, the great judge deigned no reply.

In 1648 Jenkins' various pamphlets were published together under the title :

"The Works of that Grave and Learned Lawyer, Judge Jenkins, by David Jenkins, prisoner in Newgate."

In the same year was published an account of his trial during which he was accused by his enemies of having condemned to death some innocent persons in Wales who had helped the Long Parliament. The great lawyer was, however, more than a match for his judges, and in spite of three private conferences during the trial, they failed to shake him from the sure and certain ground of the Law which he knew so well and defended so valiantly. The work is called :

"The Trial of Judge Jenkins, at the House of Commons Barre, upon an Impeachment of High Treason, with heads of the charge against him. And his Answer. 1648."

The last of his writings dealing with the Civil War was published in the same year under the title :

"The Declaration of David Jenkins, late prisoner in the Tower of London, concerning the Parliament's Army, and the Lawes and Liberties of England. Printed in 1648."

Jenkins has been described as "the sharpest thorn in the side of the Parliament,"[1] which description is undoubtedly true, or, perhaps it is best put in his own words, which form the title of one of his papers :

"A Scourge for the Directory, and The Revolting Synod,

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 148.

which hath sitten these five years, more for four shillings a day than for conscience sake."

Further papers of his, that are mentioned in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* are :

"A Recantation of Judge Jenkins . . . delivered at Westminster, 1647, to Mr. Corbet, the Chaireman of the Committee of Examination."

"Sundry Acts of Parliament mentioned and cited in the Army's Indemnity, set forth in words at large. 1647."

"Lex Terrae," 1647—a paper written to Gray's Inn, the Innes of Court, and to all the professors of the Law.

Most of the pamphlets mentioned above were printed together in "*Jenkinsius Redevivus*, or, The Works of Judge Jenkins, 1648," as before stated. His portrait appears in this book, and below it are inserted the following lines :

> " Here Jenkyns stands, who thundering from the Tower
> Shook the Senate's legislative power ;
> Six of whose Words, twelve Rheams of Votes exceed,
> As Mountains moved by Grains of Mustard Seed.
> Thus gasping Laws were rescued from the Snare.
> He that will save a Crown must know and dare."
>
> *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. 329.

. . . . . .

It is evident that in 1648 all was not going well with the Welsh Parliamentarians, and the cleavage which was taking place is instanced in "The Declaration and Resolution of Col. John Poyer, concerning Lieut. General Cromwell, and the particular relation of another Great Fight in Wales. London, 1648." Also "The Declaration of Lieut. General Cromwell concerning his present design and engagement against Col. Poyer, and his Adherents in South Wales. London, 1648," which was a reply to the former. It would seem that a misunderstanding had arisen between Col. Poyer and Col. Horton, culminating in sharp dissension. The Roundheads under Horton totally routed Col. Poyer's forces at the battle of St. Ffagan's, near Cardiff. Referring to this, Col. Oakey in a letter to a friend in London gave "A True

and particular Relation of the late Victory."[1] This was followed by "A List of the persons taken, and those that were slain by Collonell Horton in South Wales."

The disaffected Parliamentarians now approached Prince Charles in "A Declaration of Divers Gentlemen . . . of Wales, with their propositions to his Highnesse Prince Charles. London. 1648."

Much can be gleaned of the particulars of the internecine strife in Wales, from a document entitled "A Declaration of the King's Majestie's Army, with their Resolution touching the late businesse in Wales, with the proceedings of Major-General Laugharne, and the Protestation of the British Forces in Wales. 1648."

Another publication which also throws important light upon the contending parties takes the form of "Letters from Col. Horton more fully relating the late Fight near Cardiff, with a perfect List of the names of the Prisoners, Officers, Private Gentlemen, and Soldiers taken in the said Fight and Pursuit. 1648."

North Wales was getting exceedingly tired of the war, as the following publication shows: "A Declaration and Resolution of the Sheriffes, Justices of the Peace, and other of his Majestie's well-affected subjects, in the Counties of Flint and Denbigh, at a generall meeting in Wrexham, wherein they declare to oppose all forces whatsoever that shall enter the said counties. 1648." This contains many particulars of some of the leading inhabitants; *e.g.*, Sir Thomas Middleton, Simon Thelwall, Col. Thomas Ravenscroft, Col. John Aldersey, Capt. Luke Lloyd, and John Salisbury, Esq., of Bachegraig.[2]

A poetical work entitled "A New Message to the Royalists of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland. 1648," gives an account of the proceedings against the Royal Navy at sea, as well as of the Northern Army and the Welsh, Cornish, and Scottish forces.

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 146. and *Civil War Tracts*, p. 39. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 147.

(c) THE SECOND INSURRECTION PERIOD.

It will be remembered that in June, 1647, when many of the Presbyterian members had fled in dismay from the House of Commons, the Independents obtained for a moment a majority in Parliament. The victorious party then proceeded to treat with the King, offering him liberal terms, for instance, the complete toleration of all sects, the restriction of the royal power over the armed forces of the realm for ten years only, and a pardon for all exiled Royalists except five.[1] The King refused this offer, for he had formed a secret plot to free himself from both Presbyterians and Independents. In November, 1647, he escaped from his military captors and succeeded in reaching the Isle of Wight. From Carisbrooke Castle in that island, he sent new offers of terms both to the Army and to Parliament, his object being merely to gain time. In 1648, the Royalist standard was raised in the North at Berwick, and a committee of Scottish lords had sent to France to ask the young Prince of Wales to put himself at the head of his father's friends. This was a signal for the general rising of English Royalists, and insurrections broke out all over the land, even in the Eastern Counties where Puritanism was so strong. Wales was also affected by this movement, and the leading figure was Colonel Poyer. There are sixteen productions on record in the *Civil War Tracts*, N. L. W., and elsewhere, relating to the part he played.

It will suffice to mention a few of them here :

"A Short Comment upon the Grounds and Reasons of Poyer's taking up Arms in these Second Insurrections, which reasons are most abusively represented to the great advantage of the said Poyer, and to the dishonour of the Gentry of the County of Pembroke. 1648."

This was printed privately, and gives many particulars of Pembroke and its people, and of Poyer's "humble origin, corrupt life, enmity to religion, his ill-treatment of two ministers of

[1] Oman's History of England, p. 399.

religion, and his wantonness." At the end occurs a list of all the battles fought in the Counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, in which Poyer took part.

This pamphlet brought a reply from the Colonel, which is called:

> "Poyer's Vindication in Answer to a lying Pamphlet in which are monstrous lies, scattered abroad to uphold the broken reputation of a poor Solicitor, for those cowardly turncoat cavaliers in the County of Pembroke. Printed in 1648."

This was also printed privately, and the "poor solicitor" referred to was one, John Elliott, whom Poyer had been instrumental in dismissing from employment. Both one and the other indulge in the vilest recriminations. As stated before, these productions are worthless as literature, but are necessary to an understanding of the times, inasmuch as they throw sidelights upon the events of those troubled days. The Elliotts were really a responsible Narberth family, and the object of Poyer's attack returned to the charge with:

> "A Just Reply to a false and scandalous Paper, intituled 'Poyer's Vindication' by John Elliott, Esquire. Printed 1648."

Poyer's star, however, was not yet on the wane, for the next pamphlet deals with the sanguinary conflict at Pembroke Castle and in other parts of South Wales. It is entitled:

> "Prince Charles his Letter brought to his Excellency General Fairfax, and the Discovery of a Plot; also sad news from South Wales of the Defeating of the Parliament Forces there, by Colonel Poyer, the men killed, taken, and dispersed, their Ordnance and Arms lost, and Col. Poyer's Declaration. 1648."

One of Prince Charles' letters taken at Pembroke was published by Hugh Peters, an officer in Cromwell's army, probably a chaplain at the first, but having followed Cromwell into Ireland he had proved so useful to him that he had been sent into Wales

with the commission of a Colonel to raise a Regiment.[1] Peter's publication is entitled :

"A Copy of His Highnesse Prince Charles his Letter to the Commanders of his Majesty's Forces with a Copy of his Highnesse Commission to Collonell Poyer, written by Mr. Hugh Peters, Minister of God's Word. 1648."

Charles had by this time appointed Poyer governor of Pembroke; and Colonel Rice Powel, governor of Tenby and its castle, where the latter was afterwards captured.

The decisive victory gained by the Cromwellians took place at St. Ffagan's, near Cardiff, as already stated. The record of it appears in a paper styled :

"Colonel Poyer's Forces in Wales totally routed by the Parliament Forces under Colonel Horton, who took Prisoners, Major-General Stradling, Col. Philips, ... 140 Captains, many Country Gentlemen, 3000 Common Soldiers, 4000 Armes, &c., &c. 1648."

The end of the Second Civil War in Wales was marked by "An Ordinance for the settling the Militia in the several Counties, Cities, and Places in the Dominion of Wales. 1648."

It is an interesting document, in that it gives the names of those responsible to the Commonwealth for good government in Wales.

(d) SATIRES AND LAMPOONS.

Several compositions of this kind were published, and a few will be mentioned here, which are typical of the rest. They were for the most part the productions of Royalist wits at the expense of the Welshman's pronunciation of English and his confusion of the English pronouns, but they invariably elicited a speedy reply from the Roundheads. Some of them are skits on the "prophecies" of the time.

"The Welchman's publike Recantation, or his hearty sorrow for taking up Armes against her Parliament, Declaring to all

[1] Walker's "*Sufferings of the Clergy*," p. 147.

the world how her hath been abused by faire words, and such adullations and flattering, telling her what booties and Prizes her should get, the Divell take the array. 1642."
This is a knavish booklet and very droll in parts.

"The Welchman's last Petition and Protestation, desiring that a speedy aide might bee sent her against her home-bred Enemies, as her shall declare and show to be in her following petition; whereunto is added the protestation of Thomas ap Shinkin ap Morgan. 1642."

"The Welchman's Prave Resolution, in defence of Her King, Her Pritish Parliament, and her Country, against te malignant party, subscriped by Shon ap William, ap Thomas, ap Meredith, ap Evans, ap Lloyd, ap Price, ap Hugh, ap Rowland, ap Powell, ap Shinkin, ap Shones."

"The Welshman's Warning-Piece as it was delivered in a sermon in Shropshire at the Assembly when the Resolution was agreed upon, and now published for the cood of all her countrymen in these parts, by Shon ap Morgan, in the Anti-Prelation Year, 1642. Wherein her gives Kot thanks that her was no Beshit. 1642."

"The Welch Doctor; or the Welchman turned Physitian, being a new way to cure all Diseases in these times, &c. By Shinkin ap Morgan. 1643."

"The Welshman's Declaration: declaring her resolution to be revenged on her enemies, for te creat overthrow of a creat many of her Cousins and Countreymen in Tean Forrest, in Gloucestershire, where her was spitefully frittered. 1643."

"A Perfect Tiurrnal or Welsh Post, with her creat packet of Letters., for her to carry into her Countrey of Whales, touching preten proceeding, and war in England. London, printed for her Welch Post, to carry to her countrymen in Whales. 1643."

This is adorned with a portrait of Charles I. sitting upon his throne, and showing one or two suppliants asking favours.

"Crete Wonders foretold By Her crete Prophet of Wales,

which shall certainly happen this present year 1647, by strange fires and crete waters, by spirits and Tivills appearing in many places of tis Kingdome, especially in and about te cities of London and Westminster, and the effects that will follow thereupon. Also her King's coming home to her Crete Counsell. Printed with her free consent and leave, to be published and sold to her teere Pretren of England, with all her plood and heart. 1647."

This Roundhead lampoon upon the Cavaliers has a caricature of Judge Berkley (it is supposed) as frontispiece.

"Jenkin of Wales his Love-Course and Perambulation; an early Droll performed at the Red Bull Theatre about the year 1647."

A satire published by Michael Oldsworth in 1648, entitled *News from Pembroke and Montgomery*, was printed at Montgomery. The Royalists probably had a moveable Press in Wales at this time.

"The Earl of Pembroke's Farewell to the King. 1648." Although the title suggests sympathy or even tears, this is an oration full of oaths and blasphemy. It would seem that the noble Earl, who was the fourth to hold the title, was given to this particular form of utterance, for its absence in one of his speeches produced a satire bearing the significant title, "The Speech without an Oath, of Phil. Earle of Pembroke. 1648."

In 1649 appeared "A Thanksgiving for the Recovery of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, who was jeered into a Pestillent Fever." He was Chamberlain to Charles I. and Chancellor of Oxford. He died in 1655.

The following are two examples of the lampoons published during the Commonwealth period (1649-1660), satirising in prose and verse the numerous Remonstrances, Petitions, Articles of High Treason, &c., which were the vogue:

"The Humble Remonstrances of Rice ap Meredith ap

Morgan, Shentilman of Wales, with fery brave new Ballads or Songs." 1652.

"Articles of High Treason made and enacted by the late Half-Quarter Usurping Convention, and now presented to Publick View for general satisfaction, of all true Englishmen, with a Petition or Remonstrance, from the Shentlemen of Wales, to their cood Worships, together with Trotters Journey-man on his Amble to the Gallows. Imprinted for Erasmus Thorogood, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Roasted Rump. 1659."

(e) THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD.

This period opens with the famous "*Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales.* 1650." Its inception is thus explained by Walker in his "Sufferings of the Clergy."[1] One, Hugh Peters, who has been previously mentioned, had been sent by Cromwell into Wales (from Ireland whither he had accompanied him) to raise a regiment. "He misspent his time, and raised but three companies, and Cromwell's wife drew up Articles against him, which Hugh Peters being informed of, contrived, together with one Colonel Philip Jones, of Swansey, and one Mr. Sampson Lort, 'to settle a Congregational Church of their own invention'; hoping by that means to make it evident, that instead of having lost any time, he had been all the while very well employed: and afterwards going to London, and being requested to leave his advice 'How to drive on that great design of Propagating the Gospel in Wales,' he briefly delivered it to this effect: that *they must sequester all ministers without exception*, and bring the revenues of the Church into one public Treasury, out of which must be allowed an Hundred a year to *Six itinerant ministers*, to preach in every county, which was the model they afterwards proceeded upon, and did in a manner finish and compleat it."

It may be argued that Walker's account is not without bias,

[1] *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 147.

but it should be explained that he derived this information, as he himself says, from "The Life of H. Peters by W. Young, M.D. 1663."[1] Peters had lodged at Young's house at Milford, but it is not known on what terms they were.

Whether this is the correct account of the inception of the Act or not, it is certain that it proceeded on these lines, which gives some point to Walker's remark that "Peters was the great Master-Builder." He had, however, nothing to do with the working of it. To quote the same authority, "the care of carrying it on was committed to Vavasor Powell, Walter Cradock,[2] and some other enthusiasts of those parts; who for that end endeavoured to represent their countrymen as 'Pagans and Infidels,'[3] and a People that understood nothing of God, or of the Power of Godliness, and so had need to be converted to the Faith."

The part that Vavasor Powell, Walter Cradoc, and Morgan Llwyd played at this time is so prominent that no better place can be found to insert the story of their life and work, for no account of the Commonwealth period in Wales is complete without them, either on its historical, religious, or literary side.

There are two authorities which deal with Vavasor Powell's life and influence, both of which are greatly biassed, although in opposite ways, so that probably in this, as in so many other cases, the truth lies between them. One is a work by Alexander Griffith entitled "*Strena Vavasoriensis, or, an Hue and Cry after Mr. Vavasor Powell.*" This, from the very honesty of its title proclaims the author an adverse and even antagonistic critic. On his own showing, he had set forth to hunt him down. The other is a "Life" wrongly attributed to Edward Bagshaw,[4] "his dear friend and fellow-sufferer," which, if true, would hardly give an unbiassed account of the career of the "Apostle of the Welch Counties" or "Metropolitan of the Itinerants," as Powell is variously described.

[1] *Sufferings of the Clergy*, margin p. 147. [2] Morgan Llwyd is not mentioned by Walker, but he was one of the three "Tryers." [3] This quotation was taken by Walker from *Merc. Camb. Brit.*, p. 1. [4] The title page names no author, but states that the "Elogies and Epitaphs" at the end were "by His Friends." It is dated 1671.

Vavasor Powell (1617-1670) was born at Cnwc Glas, in Radnorshire[1] in 1617, his mother being a Yorkshire woman who had settled in Wales.[2] He is said to have been educated at Jesus College, Oxford, c. 1634. There is some uncertainty, however, on this point, and Wood but grudgingly admits him into his "Athenæ," because he failed to find his name on any list of Matriculants. Leaving Oxford without a degree, he settled at Clun in Shropshire as a schoolmaster, and is said to have officiated as curate to his uncle, Erasmus Howell, at that place, but there is no record of his having taken Holy Orders. The story of his forging "Letters of Orders" can be dismissed, for it occurs in the "Hue and Cry" and is told by his enemies. Later on, he joined the Puritans and attached himself to "an unpopular sect of Baptists,"[3] which exposed him to much persecution. He, on his part, became noted for his unbounded zeal against Episcopacy. In 1642, he removed to London and afterwards to Dartford in Kent, where "his fervid preaching drew great crowds."[4]

Returning to Wales in 1646 with testimonials from the "Assembly of Divines," he determined to overthrow the established Church in the Principality. In the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales," he was named a *Commissioner* and carried out his work with characteristic thoroughness. He ejected a great number of clergy, with the inevitable distress attendant upon such a course.

There can be little doubt that he exerted his power to the utmost and that he was paid for his work out of the revenues of the Church. His enemies stated that he derived enormous sums from Church revenues besides the £100 per annum which formed

[1] He himself says, "going through the Town where I was born, from *Kingston* to *Lanvaire-waterdine*, I met, &c." p. 9, "Life and Death of Vavasor Powell. 1671." [2] *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 413. Wood says that Powell's mother was daughter of William Vavasor of Newtown, in Montgomeryshire. *Athen: Oxon*: ii. p. 474. [3] Williams' *Em. Welshmen*, pp. 413-414. [4] ibid.

his stipend.[1] In support of this is quoted a property which he bought, but there is no reason to suppose that he could not have acquired it out of his own savings, for £100 per annum at that time was a considerable sum. Wood makes the statement that "he had the disposal of £40,000 per annum from 1649 to 1653, at which time it was unaccounted for," and that "he built for himself a very fair and sumptuous house in Kerry in Montgomery,"[2] but he does not clearly establish his charge.

In politics he was a staunch Republican, and later a Fifth-Monarchy man, as some of his utterances prove. But it must be admitted, in all fairness, that in politics he was no time-server, for he declaimed against Cromwell when the latter assumed the title "Lord Protector," and was imprisoned for his temerity. Thurloe's "*State Papers*" show how, from this time, he was a marked man by Cromwell.

At the Restoration in 1660, he was imprisoned, but was discharged after nine weeks' captivity. However, when he refused to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he was cast into the Fleet Prison for two years, and afterwards spent five years in Southsea Castle, near Portsmouth. Upon his release he resumed his Puritan activities, and was after ten months committed to Cardiff gaol. He was removed thence to the Fleet Prison, where he died in 1670,[3] and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

He was the author of several works, all of which except "Canwyll Crist" were written in English.[4] They are given below, together with other works bearing on the controversies in which he was engaged:

[1] It is stated in the "Life and Death of Vavasor Powell"—"Little outward advantage accrued to him by his ministry; from the Churches in Wales he received nothing but neighbourly and brotherly kindness . . . . . the Parliament ordered him £100 per annum, out of a *sine cura*, whereof he received about £60, for seven or eight years, many considerable gifts he refused, and never did he get anything by the Act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales, as was slandrously laid to his charge, for which his vindication in print to this day unanswered, may stop the mouth of Envy itself." p. 112. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 474-477. [3] 1671, according to *Bagshaw's Epitaph*, but this is incorrect. He died Oct. 27th, 1670; see *Life and Death of Vavasor Powell*, p. 191. [4] Wood's *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 474-477.

"Scriptures Concord: or a Catechisme compiled out of the words of the Scriptures. By Vavasor Powell. London, 1647." (Second edition, 1653).

"Saving Faith Set forth in Three Dialogues, or Conferences. Wherein is added Two Sermons. One of them preached before the Parliament, the other before the Lord Mayor of the City of London. 1651."

The two sermons are:

"Christ Exalted above all Creatures by God His Father" (1649); "God the Father glorified, and the worke of Mens redemption and salvation finished by Christ on earth. Preached before the Lord Mayor of London. 1649. By Vavasor Powell." (Second impression, 1650).

"An useful Concordance of the Holy Bible, with the various Acceptations contained in the Scriptures, and Marks to distinguish Commands, Promices, and Threatnings. Also a Curious Collection of Similies, Synonymous Phrases, and Prophecies, relating to the call of the Jews, and the glory that shall be in the latter days. Lastly, the Titles and Appelations given to Christ and the Church not in any Concordance yet extant. Begun by the industrious Labour of Mr. Vavasor Powell, and finished by Mr. N. P. and J. F. Recommended to the Studious Reader by the Reverend John Owen, D.D. The Supplements being placed in this Impression, in their proper places. The Second Edition. London."

This is not dated. Wood asserts that the first edition appeared in 1671 and the second in 1673.[1]

"Canwyll Crist, gan Vavasour Powel. Llundain."

This is a translation from the English, out of "Saving Faith." He relates his disputation with John Goodwin in *Truth's Conflict with Error*, 1650.

"Brief Narrative concerning the proceedings of the Commissioners in Wales against the ejected Clergy. 1653."

[1] Wood's *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., pp. 474-477.

It was written to refute the rumours that Vavasor Powell had been cast into the Fleet Prison for misappropriating a considerable part of the Welsh tithes.

"Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris: 1653."

Written for the same reason as above, by one of Powell's friends, and especially to counteract the "Hue and Cry." Its aim is to prove him innocent of the accusations brought against him.[1] As against the charges of Alexander Griffith, it places the testimony of a number of Justices of the Peace and other gentlemen.

In 1653 Powell was very industrious in disseminating pamphlets, written originally in English, but afterwards translated by him, or for him, into Welsh. Amongst this series appears:

"A Dialogue between Christ and a Publican, and Christ and a doubting Christian": "Ymddiddan rhwng Crist a'r Publican, a Christ a Christion ammheus."

"The Sufferers' Catechisme": "Catechism y Dioddefwyr."

"Sinful and sinless swearing": "Tyngu Pechadurus a dibechod."

"Sail y Grefydd Gristionogol."

"Gair tros Dduw, neu dystiolaeth o blaid y gwirionedd, oddi wrth amryw eglwysi, a llawer cant o grist'nogion yng Nghymru (a rhyw ychydig oddi amgylch), yn erbyn drygioni mewn lleoedd uchel, gyda llythyr byrr at yr Arglwydd Pendistein Cromwel. 1655."

This was also published in English, but is not mentioned in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* amongst Vavasor Powell's works. Its aim is to protest against Cromwell's acceptance of the title "Lord Protector." Powell was called to account for it before Major General Berry at Worcester, but he defended himself so ably that he escaped imprisonment.

"Bref Narative of V. Powell. By Himself, 1661." Wood dates this work 1671, and views it with unqualified scorn. His comment is: "Tis a canting and enthusiastic piece."[2] Perhaps

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 162. [2] *Athen: Oxon*: ii., pp. 474-477.

Gwilym Lleyn has confused this book with the "Life of Vavasor Powell," issued in 1671, and Wood's *date* would thus be correct.

"The Bird in the Cage, Chirping Four distinct Notes to his Consorts abroad. i. Of Consideration, Counsel, and Consolation. ii. Some Experiences and Observations gathered in Affliction, and first intended only for private use. iii. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, in the ordinary measures of singing Psalms. iv. A true Christian's Spiritual Pilgrimage, setting forth his afflicted and consolatory state, in another Metre. And as a Preface hereto, an Epistle to the Welsh Churches, and a brief Narrative of the former Propagation and late Restriction of the Gospel (and the true Preachers and Professors thereof) in Wales. And a short Vindication of the Author and others, from the Calumniation of their Adversaries concerning the same. The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged. London, 1662." The first edition of this was published in 1661.[1]

"The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell,[2] that Faithful Minister and Confessor of Jesus Christ. Wherein his Eminent Conversion, Laborious, Successful Ministry, Excellent Conversation, Confession of Faith, Worthy Sayings, Choice Experiences, Various Sufferings, and other Remarkable Passages, in his Life, and at his Death, are faithfully Recorded for Publick benefit. With Some Elogies and Epitaphs, by His Friends. Printed in the year MDCLXXI."

"The Perfect Diurnall, 1652." An account by Vavasor Powell of the discussion he had had with Dr. George Griffith, of Llanymynach, whose reply to him was entitled "Animadversions on an Imperfect Relation in the Perfect Diurnall, 1652."

"Christ and Moses' Excellency, or Sion and Sinai's Glory :

[1] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 74. [2] Edward Bagshaw is, sometimes, credited with having written this book, but one is inclined to agree with the author of the *Athenæ* that "no scholar of academical breeding, as Bagshaw was, would or could be the author of it" (vol. ii., p. 494). The first part is certainly an autobiography, the rest a compilation "by His Friends."

Being a Duplex Treatise, distinguishing and explaining the two Covenants, or the Gospel and Law; And Directing to the right understanding, applying and finding of the Informing and Assuring Promises, that belong to the both Covenants. By Vavasor Powell, Preacher of the Gospel in Wales. 1650." This is a considerable work and runs to 572 pages.

"Common Prayer Book, no Divine Servic. 1660."[1]

Wood adds an interesting note concerning Vavasor Powell's religious views: "I have been informed by M. Ll., who knew and was acquainted with Vav. Powell, that he was wont to say that there were but two sorts of People that had Religion, viz., the gathered Churches and the Roman Catholics, and would not allow it to the Church of England men, or to the Presbyterians."[2]

Walter Cradoc and Morgan Llwyd were so closely connected with Vavasor Powell in the administration of the "Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel" that their life and work had best remain associated with his in this narration.

Walter Cradoc[3] was the son of a gentleman of property, and was born at Trevala or Trefela, in the Parish of Llangwmucha, in Monmouthshire, c. 1606. He went to the University of Oxford, and was intended for the Church. He is not, however, listed in the *Alumni Oxonienses*. About the year 1620, he came under the influence of Mr. Wroth, rector of Llanfaches, a parish not far from his home. He afterwards took Orders and held the curacy of Peterston-under-Ely, and subsequently that of St. Mary's, Cardiff, where the vicar was the Rev. William Erbury. In 1633, both vicar and curate refused to read the "Book of Sports," which had been revived by Archbishop Laud, and which gave people considerable latitude on Sundays, provided that they had attended one of the Church Services. For this refusal they were both cited to appear at Lambeth. The vicar was admonished and the curate suspended—rather a strange method of apportion-

[1] See *Life and Death of Vavasor Powell*, p. 120. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 478. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 85-86.

ing the responsibility. Wroth had also been cited to appear at the same time.

Cradoc succeeded in obtaining another curacy at Wrexham, in 1634, which he held for a year. He afterwards stayed for a time at Shrewsbury, where he met Richard Baxter. It should be stated that at Wrexham he had come into contact with Morgan Llwyd, who was working as a minister there, Wrexham at the time being a centre of Puritan influence. He now became one of the "Itinerant Preachers," and during his four years' stay with the family of Sir Robert Harley, in Shropshire, he made preaching tours in the adjacent counties of Wales. At Wrexham, owing to his zeal for temperance, he had arrayed against him all the influence of the Wrexham maltsters. He had already come under the influence of Vavasor Powell, and had associated himself with him in his work. He succeeded Mr. Wroth at Llanfaches in 1639. In 1643 we find him at Great All-Hallows, London. On August 16, 1645, Parliament made him a grant of £100 a year as an "Itinerant;" and a record exists of his institution to the living of Llangwm, dated May 6, 1658.[1] He died at his home, Trefela, in 1659, and, according to the *Broadmead Records*, he was buried in the chancel of Llangwm-ucha Church.

As before stated, he was appointed one of the "Commissioners" under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, but was not such an extremist as some of his coadjutors in carrying out that law. When Vavasor Powell broke with Cromwell, Cradoc refused to follow his lead, and after the Act was abrogated in 1653, his immediate active connection with Wales seems to have ceased. It is doubtful whether he was ever a republican at heart, and in his latter years he was a decided friend to monarchical government. His warm and hasty temperament had caused him to cast in his lot with the Puritans, but he became alarmed at the lengths to which they resorted, and afterwards threw the weight of his influence on the Presbyterian side, the party which helped to restore the monarchy. The proof of

[1] See *Seren Gomer*, 1901, p. 318; 1902, p. 47.

his hold on the imagination of his countrymen lies in the fact that for many years itinerants were dubbed "Cradocs."[1]

There are some who regard Walter Cradoc as the father of the Welsh Independents.

There can be little doubt that he was a very well informed man and full of enthusiasm. He published several works in English. His collected works were published by the Rev. T. Charles, of Bala, and the Rev. P. Oliver, of Chester, in 1800.

In 1646 he published a sermon which he had preached before the House of Commons, in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on July 21st, 1646, the day appointed for thanksgiving for the Surrender of Oxford. It is entitled "The Saints' fulnesse of Joy in their fellowship with God . . . by the least of saints and the meanest of the Ministers of the Gospel. W. Cradock."

He was instrumental with Vavasor Powell and others in securing an edition of the New Testament in 1647, and, possibly, the edition of the Bible in 1654.

His other works are :

"Glad Tydings from Heaven ; To The Worst of Sinners on Earth. By Walter Cradock Late Preacher at Hallows Great in London ; Luke 2, 10. 1648."

This book has another title — "Gospel-libertie, in the Extensions [and] Limitations of it."

"Divine Drops Distilled from the Fountain of Holy Scriptures. 1650."

"Gospel Holiness : Or, The saving Sight of God. Laid open from Isa. 6. 5." 1651.

"Mount Sion, Or, The Privilege and Practice of the Saints. 1649."

Cradoc had joined with Stephen Hughes and others in presenting Cromwell with "The Humble Petition and Address" in 1655, to assure him of their loyalty, as a protest against the Pamphlet on "Wickedness in High Places" issued by Morgan

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 165.

Llwyd under the title "A Word for God" in that year.[1] Stephen Hughes described the latter as "an unseemly paper."

The third of the "Tryers" under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and by far the ablest, was **Morgan Llwyd of Gwynedd** (1619-1659). He was a Puritan divine and was, perhaps, the strongest man of this period in Wales who espoused the cause of the Commonwealth, and desired even more drastic changes than Cromwell himself was prepared to accept. A recent editor[2] of his works has related the story of his life and the conditions of his age with such admirable clearness that no student of Welsh literature should fail to read it and profit by it.

Morgan Llwyd was born at Cynfal in Ardudwy, a romantic spot in the upper reaches of the beautiful parish of Maentwrog. Cynfal was a gentleman's patrimony, and had several small holdings in its possession. Two sons of Cynfal are mentioned as having graduated at Oxford by the Welsh bard Hugh Machno.[3] This part of Wales had already produced many eminent men in arts, law, and medicine. A native of Maentwrog, John Ellis of Gwylan, who was afterwards Rector of Dolgelley, had been one of the first advocates of higher education in Wales. Huw Llwyd, the grandfather of Morgan Llwyd, was a bard of some merit. In his younger days he had helped Holland in its struggle against Spain, and possibly he had often related incidents in this fight for freedom to his able young grandson, and fired him with similar ideals. Morgan Llwyd was sent to school at Wrexham, a town credited with Puritan sympathies, and there met Walter Cradoc and became his intimate. When in 1635 the latter left for Shropshire, Morgan Llwyd followed him there and, it is said, saw service in the same household, that of Sir Robert Harley. Later he came under the influence of Erbury, whom he is supposed to have met in Pembrokeshire. When the Civil War broke out, he espoused the

[1] See Introduction to *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, by Mr. J. H. Davies, pp. lxxi.-lxxiii. [2] ibid

[3] "A dau oedd feistriaid mewn dysg
O raddol art oreuddysg."
Quoted by Mr. J. H. Davies in "*Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*."

cause of Parliament in the service of which he visited Bristol, Porchester, Portsmouth, and finally London. In the capital he formed the acquaintance of Giles Culverts, a Quaker, who published Behmen's works, and many other Quaker productions. For his services to the Commonwealth Morgan Llwyd was appointed one of the Commissioners under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.

He returned to Wales with much pleasure, for he had tired of the acrimonious discussions which were the vogue amongst those whom he met at Culverts'. London was a hive of excitement at the time, and his sojourn there left a deep impression upon his mind. Amongst other influences he had felt was that of Roger Williams, a Puritan, who had returned from America, and who expressed such extreme views as to be unpalatable even to the Independents in Wales. Williams returned to America in 1644, but he had sown seeds which bore fruit in the life of Morgan Llwyd, who in after years promulgated similar views, although his opinions as to liberty of conscience are somewhat vaguely stated, but he was most pronounced in his hostility to an established religion. He described those who profited from the old endowments in these drastic words, "yn bwyta cig y meirwon, ac yn ymborthi ar y budreddi annaturiol." This is a gross offence against good taste, but it must be borne in mind that he wrote it in the heat of controversy. He was the most extreme type of Fifth Monarchy man, that is to say, one who based his belief on the 20th chapter of Revelations, the chapter which contains the vision of the five Empires. The first four were explained to be Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; and the fifth, in the opinion of these men, was to be the Kingdom of Christ established on earth. There is no doubt that many of them genuinely believed at that time in the very near approach of the Fifth Monarchy, when Christ should reign for a thousand years. Bearing this in mind enables us to clear up many passages in Morgan Llwyd's work, which would otherwise be obscure. Thomas Harrison, one of Cromwell's great generals, was the

recognised head of this party, and he, with Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell, it is supposed, recognised the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales," as a God-given instrument placed in their hands to prepare the way for the coming kingdom. When it was withdrawn, they saw the collapse of their hope, and this explains their chagrin and their revolt against Cromwell when it came about.

In the Short Parliament, things were so manipulated in Wales, that five out of the six representatives who sat in it were Fifth Monarchy men, but the end of this Parliament saw the end of their hope.

It was about this time, in 1653, that "Llyfr y Tri Aderyn," Morgan Llwyd's *magnum opus* was published. Its full title is as follows :

> "Dirgelwch i rai iw ddeall ac i eraill iw watwar, sef Tri Aderyn yn ymddiddan, Yr Eryr, a'r Golomen, a'r Gigfran. Neu Arwydd i annerch y Cymru. Yn y flwyddyn mil a chwe-chant a thair ar ddêc a deugain cyn dyfod 666. Printiedig yn Llundain gan James Flesher, ac a werthir gan Thomas Brewster tan lûn y tri Bibl yn ymmyl Powls."

The gist of this work is the expression of the author's view that there should be no interference with conscience, and that a voluntary system of church government should be established. He labours to prove the weakness of the established system represented by the *Gigfran* (Raven), and that the Church fetters herself by endowments. The *Colomen* (Dove) represents Morgan Llwyd's own views regarding a religious community, and the *Eryr* (Eagle) represents the Government. The nature and substance of his new spiritual creed are explained to the Eagle.

In practice, his theories were certainly never tried by the Welsh reformers of his own day, for if old endowments were bad for the Church, they were equally bad for *them* when they had appropriated her revenues. There is some doubt whether Morgan Llwyd himself received any of those revenues, and he must be given the full benefit to which he is entitled in the absence of

proof, but it is quite certain that he received £100 a year from Parliament, and it is very hard to distinguish this in principle from that which he condemned. It was national money benefitting a man with whose extreme views not a tithe of the nation in those days would agree.

His other works are;

"An honest Discourse, 1655." This is also in the form of a dialogue "between Three Neighbours touching the Present Government in these three Nations, viz., between Goodman Past, Goodman Present, and Goodman Future. London, 1655."

"A translation of Behmen's works."

"Yr Ymroddiad neu Bapuryn a gyfieuthiwyd ddwywaith i helpu y Cymru unwaith allan o'r Hunan a'r drygioni."

This was translated in 1654 and printed in 1657.

"Y Discybl ai Athraw O newydd. Cyfieithiwyd 1655, Printiwyd 1657."

"Cyfarwyddid i'r Cymru: a ysgrifenwyd yn 1655. Printiedig 1657."

"Gair o'r Gair, neu Son am Swn. Y Lleferydd Anfarwol."

This was considered so excellent a work that it was translated into English, in 1739, under the title "A Discourse of the Word of God."

"Llythyr i'r Cymru Cariadus." This was written under Harrison's inspiration, about 1653.

"Gwaedd Ynghymru yn Wyneb pob Cydwybod Euog, 1655."

In most of his works, especially in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, Morgan Llwyd reveals himself as a son of the mountains, and the marks of his early environment are plain upon him. The wild stream which has carved its way through the rocks below Cynfal, where "Pwlpud Huw Llwyd" stands out in solitary grandeur, seems to present itself to his mind when he writes "A'r llifeiriant yn ddisymwth yn codi ac yn ysgubo'r cwbl." He was the only one of the Puritans who published books in Welsh. Besides his prose work he also produced numerous poems. One of them,

"Hanes rhyw Gymro," gives an account of his own doings during the Civil War period. It is plain in his early poems that he was sorry for the discord which was rapidly growing between the religious sects. Gentleness and hope are the dominant notes of these first efforts of his muse, but his latest songs are full of bitterness and disappointment. Huw Morus' description of them as "poisoned"[1] is not inapt. They were the writings of one whose hopes were crushed—a mystic who was rudely awakened from his dreams.

One can imagine how deeply the iron must have entered into his soul when he, who had expected so much from Cromwell's régime, travelled through Wales striving to raise an insurrection against his quondam idol. Parliament forgave him this offence, and made him the grant to which reference has already been made, but in his last days (and he was still in the prime of life, for he died at forty) he was a melancholy, dispirited, broken man. But of his eminence there can be no doubt, and the ideals for which he strove are still living forces. It is a proof of the tenacity and depth of his convictions, that he should have left the quiet charm of his romantic home in the remote fastnesses of Wales to take a foremost part in the strife of that age of blood and iron. A forceful summing up of his character is given by one who knew him well, in "A Winding Sheet for Mr. Baxter's Dead." He was a man of great natural abilities and strong religious feelings, a master of highly figurative language, and a preacher against immorality and thoughtlessness.

Among his poems (which will be fully dealt with later) one entitled "*Gwyddor Uchod*" gives expression to his quaint views on astronomy in its influence on the life of man :

Mae ymhob dyn naturiol,
Saith blaned fawr ryfeddol ;
Ag yn cydweithio heb nâghau
Gida'r planedau nefol.

No less than fifty-two poems, songs, hymns, and *englynion* appear in the first volume of his work edited by the late Mr. T. E. Ellis, M.P.

[1] "A gwenwyn ar lefrith ei lyfrau."—Huw Morus.

The great majority of them are in English, and some of them are very sweet little odes, although cast in that vein of seriousness which runs through all Morgan Llwyd's work. Of his native county he writes:

O Meirion dirion i dario—ynddi
Yn dda rwi'n dy gofio
Nid hawddgar ond ath garo
Fy annwyl bresswyl am bro.

But it is rather as a writer of excellent prose than as a poet, that he has done his greatest service to his country. His works are master-pieces in style and diction, and, unlike those of Rowland Vaughan and the many other translators of this period, their substance is for the most part original. His influence upon the masses was very great, because so many of his writings were in Welsh. They show him in many lights, as a theologian, a philosopher, a careful student of nature, and an accurate observer of the social and political events of his day.

It is necessary at this stage to give some account of others who were less prominent during the Commonwealth period than the three who have just passed under review, but who, nevertheless, contributed appreciably by their services to Wales both in political and literary activity.

William Erbury[1] (1604-1654) was born in 1604, educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, 1621-23, and having taken Holy Orders, became Vicar of St. Mary's Cardiff, 1633, where Walter Cradoc was for a time his curate. He refused to read the "Book of Sports" in church, and was cited to appear at Lambeth, where he was severely admonished by the Bishop of London. In 1640, he openly preached against the bishops, and became an Independent. He afterwards served as Chaplain in Essex's army, and to a regiment of Parliamentarians at Oxford in 1646, and the charge is brought against him of having corrupted the soldiers with strange opinions, which would seem to have been the doctrine of "universal redemption" and the denial of the

[1] See Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 145-146, and Wood's *Athen: Oxon*: ii. p. 175.

verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, or, as Wood puts it, "he taught that there was no certainty to build upon the Scriptures . . . . as there were so many copies of them." He left the army, probably because his views were unwelcome to the soldiery, became a Socinian, "and preached in his Conventicle at Christ Church within Newgate."[1] He was very closely identified with Walter Cradoc, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Llwyd, and is included in the four prominent men whom Mr. Baxter is accused in "A Winding Sheet for Mr. Baxter's dead" of having "Killed and slayn, sweetly embalmed, and decently buried, in his Catholick Communion," the others being the three "Tryers" already named. He died in 1654, having left behind him several writings, and amongst them :

"The Sword Doubled to cut both the Righteous and the Wicked. 1652."

"The Grand Oppressor, Or, The Terror of Tithes . . . . A Scourge for the Assyrian, the Great Oppressor. 1652."

"The Bishop of London ; or, an Espiscopal Spirit risen, and appearing at London House. 1652."

"The Welsh Curate : Or, Paul's care of All the Churches. 1652."

"Apocrypha. The second Epistle of Paul to the Church of Laodicea. 1652."

"The General Epistle to the Hebrews. 1652."

"The Mad Man's Plea : Or, A Sober Defence of Captaine Chillintons Church. 1653."

"The Babe of Glory, Breaking forth in the broken Flesh of the Saints, &c. 1653."

"The reign of Crist and the Saints. 1654." From this tract it is evident that Erbury was a strong Fifth Monarchy man.

"The North Star : or some Night-Light shining in North Wales. With some Darke Discoveries of the day of God approaching. 1653."

"The Testimony of William Erbury, left upon Record for

[1] *Alumni Oxonienses.*

the Saints of Succeeding Ages. Being a Collection of the Writings of the aforesaid Authour, for the benefit of Posterity. Whereunto is added, The Honest Hereitck, Being his Tryal at Westminster. 1658." It contains twenty-three Tracts of his work.

His work, together with his letters, was printed in 1770 under the title :

"The Scourge for the Assirian, the great Oppressor, &c.," by Thomas Meredith.

William Wroth (1570-1642), was born at Abergavenny in 1570, and belonged to a Pembrokeshire family.[1] He entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1586, and became Vicar of Llanfaches in 1595. In 1620 his life underwent a great change[2] owing to the sudden death of a friend, and whereas, previously, he was addicted to mirth and levity, he now realised the seriousness of his calling, and began to "signalize himself by faithfully preaching the Gospel."[3] Upon his refusal to read the "Book of Sports," the Bishop of Llandaff, in 1635, cited him to appear before the High Commisson Court, and referred to him as "a noted schismatic." In 1638 he submitted to that Court,[4] but the following year he broke away from the Church, and established at Llanfaches "a church according to the model of the Independents."[5] He died just before the Civil War broke out, in 1642. He left behind him no literary work.

Christopher Love (1618-1651) was born at Cardiff in 1618, and entered New Inn Hall, Oxford,[6] in 1635, where he graduated M.A. He was ordained, and was amongst those who refused to subscribe to the canons enjoined by Laud. This resulted in his expulsion from the Church, and the loss of his degree. He removed to London, and became a very violent opponent of the Monarchy, and when the Civil War broke out, he was appointed preacher to the garrison at Windsor Castle. In

[1] Rees' *Hist. of Nonconf* : *in* W*ales*, p. 499. [2] Brook's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. pp. 468-470. [3] ibid. [4] Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, i. pp. 537, 544, 555. [5] Calamy's *Continuation* i. p. 47. [6] *Alumni Oxonienses.*

1644, when the King met at Uxbridge to confer with the Parliament, Love preached before them a discourse of so violent a nature that the King's party protested to Parliament. He was afterwards minister of St. Ann's Church, near Aldersgate, but about this time his views underwent a change, and in 1649 he signed a declaration against putting the King to death.[1] He became further estranged from the Commonwealth, and took part, later on, in the Presbyterian plot to place Charles II. upon the throne. This was detected, and he was tried for high treason and beheaded in 1651. He had taken a very active part in the political and controversial subjects of his day, and produced a considerable number of pamphlets and sermons, amongst which may be mentioned:

"The Debauched Cavalier or the English Midianite, 1642."

"England's Distemper; a sermon preached at Uxbridge, 1644, on Jeremiah xxxiii. 6."

"The Penitent Pardoned."

"A Cleare and necessary Vindication of the Principles and Practices of me Christopher Love, Since my Tryall before, and Condemnation by, the High Court of Justice. 1651."

"Mr. Love's Case: Wherein is Published, First, His several Petitions to the Parliament. Secondly, A full Narrative of the late Dangerous Design against the State, written with Mr. Love's own hand . . . . Thirdly, Mr. Love's Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold on Towerhill, August 22, 1651."

A book bearing upon his trial and sentence appeared in 1651 under the title "A Just Balance, or some considerable Queries about Mr. Love's Case, Tryall, and Sentence, and about those that appeared Petition-wise in his behalf."

Robert Wild, the author of *Iter Boreale*, published in 1660 "The Tragedy of Christopher Love at Tower-Hill."

We have so far taken a survey of the chief writers amongst the political Puritans during the Commonwealth period, and now pass to a consideration of the works of those who were in sharp

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 273. Also *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. p. 136.

antagonism to them, those Church and Royalist writers who still represented a considerable body of opinion in Wales. There are two who are more especially worthy of notice :

Alexander Griffith was a Welsh divine of the period, who suffered much for his loyalty to the Crown. He had been educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1618, and M.A. in 1631.[1] Having taken Holy Orders, he gained perferment in South Wales in 1639, but was deprived of his benefices under the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel." He regained his spiritualities at the Restoration, and was appointed Vicar of Glasbury[2] which benefice he held from 1661 to 1690, the year of his death. He had a biting satire which he used with much effect against the "Act," its authors, and those who carried it into effect.

In 1652 appeared a pamphlet for which Wood thinks he was not solely responsible, but had a hand in it, entitled :

> "Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus, or News from Wales, touching the miraculous propagation of the Gospel in those parts."

It relates the sufferings of the dispossessed clergy, and is a violent attack upon Vavasor Powell. It was followed by :

> "A true and perfect relation of the whole transaction concerning the Petition of the Six Counties of South Wales, and the County of Monmouth, formerly presented to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, for a supply of Godly ministers, and an account of Ecclesiastical Revenues therein, &c. London, 1654."

This is an attack upon a petition entitled *The Humble Acknowledgement, &c.*, presented to the Commonwealth Parliament in 1650, by 19,000 inhabitants of South Wales and Monmouthshire.[3] It had complained about the distressed, oppressed condition of South Wales, both in the matter of spiritual provision

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 180-181, and *Athen: Oxon*: ii. p. 190.
[2] See Jones' *Breconshire*. The *Alumni Oxonienses* states that he was *perhaps* Vicar of Trefeglwys, in Montgomeryshire, and afterwards of Llanwnog, in the same county. [3] *Civil War Tracts*, N. L. W., p. 52.

and in regard to civil rights and freedom. It also contained proposals for the discovery of above £15,000 "unaccounted for to the Commonwealth," and had been followed up by "A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of South Wales. 1650." Alexander Griffith contended that the document was entirely worthless, as it was based upon political expediency, and was a flagrant violation of facts. In his next work he attacked Vavasor Powell personally, in :

> "Strena Vavasoriensis, A New Year's Gift for the Welch Itinerants, Or a Hue and Cry after Mr. Vavasor Powell, Metropolitan of the Itinerants, and one of the Executioners of the Gospel by colour of the late Act for the Propagation thereof in Wales . . . , London, 1654."

This pamphlet purports to be a true relation of the birth, course of life, and doctrine of the said Vavasor Powell, and Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* has, apparently, been entirely guided by it.

It is unprofitable to discuss the matter, until much more is known of both Powell and Griffith, if that can ever be accomplished. They were two men entirely opposed in policy, and that at a time when political and religious passions ran high. The attack made in the *Strena* is so directly personal as to make distasteful reading even at this distance from the event. If even *one* of the serious charges against Vavasor Powell were true, it would constitute him a hypocrite and felon whom all honest men would shun. If they are not true, the charges recoil upon the author. It is kindest to think of both as men who pushed things to extremities in an age when the minds of public officials were inflamed by political passion fanned into a white heat by religious bigotry and fanaticism.

An opponent who was equally hostile to Puritanism in principle, but whose methods were those of suasion rather than abuse, was **Dr. George Griffith** (1601-1666), Bishop of St. Asaph.[1] He was born in 1601, at Garreg Lwyd, Llanfaethlu, Anglesey,[2] the

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 181, 182. Also *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. pp. 387-388. [2] Both Wood and Williams wrongly state that he was born at Penrhyn, near Bangor.

third son of Robert Griffith of that place, and was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (1619), taking the following degrees: B.A., 1623; M.A., 1626; B.D., 1632; D.D., 1634. After taking Orders he became Chaplain to Dr. John Owen, Bishop of St. Asaph, and later was promoted to the rectory of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, 1631; Canon and Archdeacon of St. Asaph, 1632; Rector of Llandrinio, 1632; and of Llanvechain, 1633, which he exchanged for Llanymynach, 1634, where he laboured for some years, and was much beloved. Under the Commonwealth he lost his emoluments for a time, but in 1650 he was elected to Llanymynach, and granted the profits of Llangwm and Llandrillo.[1] At the Restoration he was mitred by Charles II., receiving the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1660. He died in 1666, and was buried in the Choir of St. Asaph Cathedral.

His disputations with dissenters were many, but he was as moderate in trying to persuade others, as he was firm in his own convictions. In 1662 he assisted in drawing up the Act of Uniformity and in making certain alterations in the Liturgy made in that year. He is said to have composed the Office for Baptizing those of Riper Years.[2] His writings are:

"A bold Challenge of an Itinerant Preacher, Modestly Answered, By a Local Minister [George Griffith] to whom the same was sent and delivered: and Severall letters thereupon. 1652." Vavasor Powell is said to have replied in "most false and barbarous Latin."[3]

"Animadversions on an Imperfect Relation in the *Perfect Diurnall.* 1653." This is a record of the public disputation which took place between him and Vavasor Powell "near New Chappell, Montgomeryshire."

"Egwyddorion y Grefydd Gristionogol yn gynnwysedig mewn Catechism Byrr. 1664." His share in this work was to compare the Latin and English translations on which it was founded.

[1] *Act for Propagation of the Gospel*, issued by Cymdeithas Llen Cymru. [2] Gwallter Mechain, iii. pp. 2, 3. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 181-182.

"Some plain Discourses on the Lord's Supper," which was not printed until 1684.

"Gweddi'r Arglwydd wedi ei hegluro mewn amryw ymadroddion, neu Bregethau Byrrion. O waith y Gwir Barchedig Dad George Griffith, D.D. Diweddar Escob Llanelwy."

Printed at Oxford in 1685. These Sermons were reprinted at Carnarvon in 1806, by the Bangor Diocesan Tract Society.

He also undertook a new translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh, but left it unfinished. In a Convocation of the Clergy held in 1640, he advocated a new edition of the Welsh Bible, but the Civil War interfered with the project.

. . . . . .

The Welsh mining industries received some notice at this time, as will be evident from a paper entitled :

"A Just and True Remonstrance of His Majestie's Mines-Royall in the Principality of Wales. Presented by Thomas Bushell, Esquire, Farmer of the said Mines-Royall to his Majestie. London, 1642."[1]

Bushell had succeeded Sir Hugh Middleton in charge of the Cardiganshire mines, and by the permission of Charles I. he established a Mint for coining silver at Aberystwyth. At the outbreak of the Civil War he kept a number of soldiers there at his own expense to defend it against Roundhead depredations. He is also credited with having given the King £10,000 to help him to carry on the War, but it is stated that this money came from the mines.[2] The Civil War seriously disturbed Mr. Bushell's work in Cardiganshire, and he afterwards made a virtue of necessity, and tried to enlist the help of the Parliament in a venture which he described as "A goode worke for the benefit of the nation." A paper appeared in 1649, which stated his reasons at some length. It is entitled : "The Case of Thomas Bushell, of Enston, in the County of Oxon., Esquire., truly stated, together with his progress in Minerals, and the desires of several merchants and others that are willing and ready to advance

[1] *Civil War Tracts*, N. L. W., p. 3. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 129; see also *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., 526-528.

so good a work for the benefit of the nation, humbly tendered to the serious consideration of the Honble. House of Commons, and all other persons in authority, whether civill or martiall, that are desirous to advance the trade of the nation, supply the necessities of the poor, by discovering the hidden treasures of the earth, preserve the lives of many poor creatures from untimely death (who now are destroyed in their prime for petty felonies) which might otherwise be made serviceable to the Commonwealth. London, 1649."

Bushell had been in the service of Sir Francis Bacon, and had no doubt imbibed his master's *Philosophical Theory of Mineral Prosecutions* to the full. He had carried out some fantastic ideas at his own home at Enston, where he entertained King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria in the manner so quaintly set forth by Wood (*Ath*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 526). He became greatly impoverished by his many ventures, and fell on evil days during the Commonwealth. Anthony Wood summed him up in these words: "He left behind him the character of one always troubled with a beating and contriving brain, of an aimer at great and high things, while he himself was always indigent, and therefore could never accomplish his mind to his original desire, of one always borrowing to carry on his designs, but seldom or never paid."

Still it must be remembered that he belonged to that class of Englishmen which has done so much to develop the mining resources of the Principality, and to which it is considerably indebted. Bushell's ventures, like that of many others, proved failures. Nevertheless, they were pioneers in an enterprise which has in many parts developed beyond their most sanguine expectations, and which has proved to be "a good work for the benefit of the nation."

This period saw the beginnings of newspaper literature in Wales. The Church and the Puritan party, Cavalier and Roundhead, issued from time to time, as the exigencies of a travelling press allowed, their various *Mercurii* and *Diurnals*;

e.g., *Mercurius Britannicus*, *The Welch Mercurie*, *Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus*, *Mercurius Vapulans*, and *Mercurius Publicus*. Some of the issues known as *Diurnals* were published at very irregular intervals, and were generally dated for the week of issue, e.g., "*The Perfect Diurnal*," which reports the defeat of Prince Rupert's forces by Colonel Jones, at Malpas, is dated 1644, Sept. 2-9.[1]

John Taylor, a staunch Royalist, sometimes known as the Water Poet,* a strange character, who at the age of 72 made a journey round Wales, covering 600 miles, wrote an account of his perambulations, in prose and verse, entitled, "A Short Relation of a Long Journey made round or oval by encompassing the Principality of Wales . . . . 1652."

Thomas Richards, in 1859, printed a few copies of this work.

In 1653, a curious account of the state of Anglesey in the seventeenth century was written under the title, "A Brief Relation of the Isle of Anglesey."[2] The name of the author is not given. Mr. J. E. Adlard published a few copies of it in 1860.

In 1655, John Webb edited and published "The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Henge, on Salisbury Plain. Restored by Inigo Jones, Esquire, Architect to the late King."

In the same year appeared "A Warning-Peece for England. Being a Discovery of a Jesuiticall Design to Dismember Wales from England, to the ruine of both . . . . Humbly tendered to the Consideration of his Highness, the Lord Protector and his

[1] *Civil War Tracts*, N. L. W., p. 75.

*"This John Taylor was born in the City of Gloucester, went to school there, and having got into his *Accidence*, was bound an apprentice to a waterman in London, which tho' a laborious employment, yet such was his prodigious geny to poetry, that he wrote about 80 books, of which many were in that Faculty, that made great sport in their time, and were most of them esteemed worthy to be remitted into a large folio. Had he had learning bestowed on him according to his natural parts, which were excellent, he might have equalled, if not excelled, many who claim a great share in the Temple of the Muses."—*Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. p. 393. See also *D.N.B.*

[2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 158.

Council. By a Well-wisher to the Peace and Tranquillity of this nation. By P. P. . . . London . . . 1655."

In 1658, the one document relating to Wales during Richard Cromwell's short Protectorate was published under the title, "The very curious Act of Parliament issued during Richard Cromwell's Protectorate, for taking the Accompts, &c., concerning the Tythes and Church Livings in Wales, and Co. of Monmouth. Printed for the Parliament. 1658."

A very interesting and amusing book entitled *The Legend of Captain Jones*, by Dr. David Lloyd, Dean of St. Asaph, was published in 1659. The first part of it relates the adventures of "Captain Jones" at sea, his first landing, "and strong combat with a mighty Bear." The second begins with his miraculous deliverance from a wreck at sea "by the support of a Dolphin." These two parts are written in very good burlesque, in imitation of a Welsh poem called *Awdl Richard John Greulon.*[1] The Captain Jones around whom the legend clusters, lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was in great renown for his high exploits. After the title follow many ingenious verses in praise of the work, several of them by Oxford scholars.[2]

The author, **David Lloyd, D.C.L.**, was born at Berthlwyd in the Parish of Llanidloes in 1598. He entered All Soul's College, Oxford, and became Probationary Fellow in 1615, and Perpetual Fellow in 1618. On leaving, he took Orders and became chaplain to the Earl of Derby, and afterwards received the following preferments: 1641, Rector of Trefdraeth, Anglesey; 1642, Rector of Llangynhafal, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, and Warden of Ruthin. He was also appointed Prebendary of Chester. Under the Commonwealth he was ejected and suffered confinement, but at the Restoration he was appointed Dean of St. Asaph.[3] He died at Ruthin in 1663.[4]

He was, doubtless, a man of considerable parts, and many of his Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies are found scattered in various

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. pp. 331-2. For the *Awdl* see *Y Brython* i. p. 215. [2] ibid. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 280. [4] Not in 1696, as stated in the *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 183.

works. But his best known book is this "Legend of Captain Jones," which has frequently been reprinted, modelled as stated above on the *Awdl Richard John Greulon*, which is attributed to Sion Tudur.

Dean Lloyd was much "given to hospitality," and ran heavily into debt during the period of his ejection, from which, it is said, he never quite recovered. Some wit suggested the following as a suitable epitaph to the worthy Dean :

This is the Epitaph
Of the Dean of St. Asaph,
Who by keeping a Table
Better than he was able
Run into debt
Which is not paid yet.[1]

One of the most active writers of the seventeenth century was **James Howell,** the second son of Thomas Howell, of Abernant,[2] in Carmarthenshire. Some of his literary work appeared after the Restoration, but the bulk of it had been done before 1660, and the account of his life and writings had best be given here. He proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1610, at the age of sixteen, and graduated B.A. in 1613, and became Fellow of the College in 1623. He became secretary to Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, President of the North, in 1626, and subsequently M.P. for Richmond, Yorkshire, 1628-9. Charles II. appointed him Historiographer Royal in 1660, and he was the first to hold that office. He died in 1666, and was buried at the Temple Church.[3] He had travelled much on the Continent and was acquainted with several European languages. In 1632, he had gone to Denmark, as private secretary to the Earl of Leicester. On his return, he gained a precarious livelihood for some years by clerical work. In 1640 he started his literary career with the publication of *Dendrologia ; or, Dodona's Grove.* In 1642, he was appointed Clerk of the Council, but his success

[1] *Ath.* : *Oxon* ; ii, p. 332. [2] Wood states that James Howell was born at Abernant (vol. ii., p. 381), but Garnett and Gosse in their *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. iii., p. 45, state that he was probably born at Llangammarch in the County of Brecon, although they admit that his father lived later at Abernant [3] *Alumni Oxonienses.*

was short-lived, for in 1643 his manuscripts and correspondence were confiscated, and he was thrown into the Fleet Prison, where he languished for eight years. He was now compelled to literary work, and the period of his incarceration saw the publication of *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, or Familiar Letters, of which four volumes were written in 1645, 1647, 1650, and 1655 respectively. During the Protectorate he devoted himself to the flattery of Cromwell, but he managed to secure the favour of Charles II. on his accession, who presented him to the post above-mentioned and endowed him with a competence.

The following is a list of his writings:

"Δενδρολογία. Dodona's Grove, or The Vocall Forrest. 1640."

A French edition of this work appeared in 1641, and a second edition in English, "more exact and perfect than the former," and with two Tracts added, entitled, "Parables reflecting upon the Times," and "England's Teares for the present Warres," in 1644; a third edition in 1645, and the last edition in 1649.

In 1650 he published "Δενδρολογία . . . . Second Part," and in 1660 "θηρολογία. The Parley of Beasts; or Morphandra Queen of the Inchanted Iland."

In 1647 appeared "A New Volume of Letters Partly Philosophicall, Politicall, Historicall." It also contains "The Vote, or a Poem Royall, presented to His Majestie." Both the letters and the poem are found in *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*. A second edition of the latter was issued in 1650, although it contains some letters published as early as 1645. The third edition appeared in 1655 with a "Fourth Volume of New Letters Never Publish'd before."

In 1652 he issued "The Vision: Or a Dialog between the Soul and the Bodie. Fancied in a Morning Dream."

In 1654, "The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. A new Italian Comedy."

In 1655, "Som Sober Inspections made unto the Cariage and Consults of the Late-long Parlement." This was republished

with some additions, and preceded by the title "Philangus" in 1658 and 1660.

In 1658, he published "A Discours of the Empire," and in 1661, as far as is known, his last work, entitled "Divers Historicall Discourses of the late Popular Insurrections in Great Britain and Ireland, Tending all, to the asserting of Truth, in vindication of their Majesties. London, 1661."

(f) FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

It was quite natural that at the Restoration a few works should appear reflecting upon the Commonwealth period in disparaging terms. As we have seen, James Howell accommodated himself in some of his writings to this change in the nation's fortune, and thereby secured for himself the patronage of Charles II. Amongst other writings on similar lines, there appeared in 1660 a work entitled *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause*, which related many stories of those members of the Long Parliament who took the Oath and Covenant. It shows that although they had professed self-sacrifice, they had amassed for themselves considerable riches. It is, in fact, a satire upon the Welsh Puritans by a raconteur who viewed with glee the present discomfiture of those religionists.

In 1661, there was published a folio volume relating to Welsh antiquities, which caused much chagrin and disappointment to competent scholars at the time, and especially to one Welshman named **Thomas Ellis,** who had himself been engaged for a considerable time in collecting materials for a similar work, but with more accurate intention. Its title was :

> "Cambria Triumphans, or Britain in its Perfect Lustre. Showing the Origin and Antiquity of that Illustrious Nation. The succession of their Kings and Princes, from the first to King Charles of Happy Memory. The Description of the Country: The History of the Antient and Moderne

Estate, The Manner of the Investure of the Princes, with the Coats of Arms of the Nobility. By Percy Enderbie, Gent. 1661."

The story of Thomas Ellis's disappointment is well known. The famous antiquary, Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, had intended to publish Dr. Powell's "History of Cambria, 1584," with corrections and additions which he placed in the hands of Thomas Ellis. The latter sorted them and corrected them, and was already going on with the printing, and had seen 128 pages through the Press, when Percy Enderbie's book appeared, which is supposed to have been compiled from materials in the library at Llantarnam (he had married the daughter of Sir Edward Morgan of Llantarnam). He had not the knowledge necessary to such an undertaking, and spoiled the work. There is one important detail, however, which is not quite clear. The date on Mr. Ellis's projected work was 1663, whilst Enderbie's appeared in 1661. The explanation may be that Ellis had post-dated his book, allowing that the whole work could not be completed until 1663. But certain it is that he had the whole process stopped, and the remainder of his sheets sold as waste paper. The scholars of that day regretted his rash act because, as the historian of Oxford University writes: "Enderbie hath done this work very meanly, being mostly a scribble from late authors, and gives not that satisfaction which curious men desire to know."[1] Enderbie was a Lincolnshire man, and had but recently come into touch with Wales through his marriage. Therefore, he could not possibly have had that knowledge of the country which Thomas Ellis possessed in a remarkable degree. The latter was an able antiquary and classical scholar. Born at Dolbenmaen in Carnarvonshire, in 1625, he had entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1640, taking his B.A. in 1644, M.A. in 1646-7, and B.D. in 1661. During the Civil War he bore arms for the King within the garrison of Oxford. In 1665-6, after leading a very exclusive life at Oxford, he became Rector of Dolgelley in succession to

[1] *Athen: Oxon:* ii., p. 362.

his kinsman, John Ellis of Gwylan. Whilst there, he helped Mr. Robert Vaughan in his task of collecting Welsh MSS., and his solid learning and genius for history and antiquities must have proved of great service to the latter. He retired to his old home at Dolbenmaen and spent his last days there, dying in 1673.[1]

Another book of historical interest which appeared in 1661 was "A History of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland. By J. D." The author was **John Davies,** of Cydwely (1625-1693), a man who had been trained at both the Universities,[2] and who attained a considerable reputation as a writer and translator. He was a great friend of the famous John Hall, of Durham, and was considerably indebted to him. During the Commonwealth "he kept pace with the times of usurpation," but was nevertheless admitted by the same writer (Wood) to be "a genteel, harmless, and quiet man." He travelled much in France, and was an accomplished French scholar, as his numerous translations of French works into English testify. He wrote many books of history, besides the above, and also many novels and books of travel. Wood mentions about forty of his works, many of which show that he was steeped in the Classics and the Philosophers. Amongst the books he translated from the French are: "A Treatise against some of the principles of Renatus des Cartes, 1654"; "The extravagant Shepherd, an Anti-Romance, 1654"; "The History of Magic, 1656, 1657"; "Les Provinciales or the Mystery of Jesuitism, 1656"; "Apocalyps," or "A Discovery of some notorious Heretics"; "The History of Algier and the Slavery there, 1662"; and "The Art how to know men, 1665." He died in 1693, and was buried at Kidwelly.

In 1662, **Robert Vaughan**[3] (1592-1662), of Hengwrt, the famous antiquary, published "British Antiquities Revived; or friendly contest touching ye Sovereignity of the three Princes of

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii. pp. 517, 518. [2] The *Alumni Oxonienses* records that he entered Jesus Coll., Oxford, in 1641, and was admitted Sizar of St. John's, Camb. in 1646. [3] For the details concerning his life and work see Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 511, 512; Gwallter Mechain's *Works*, ii. pp. 426-430; *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii. 372; *Alum*: *Oxon*.

Wales in antient times, managed with certain arguments, whereunto answers are applied. To which is added the pedigree of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales, with a short account of the Five Royal Tribes of Cambria. By the same Author. Oxford, 1662." This was the only book he published. It was as a collector and classifier of MSS. that he chiefly benefitted his country. He, no doubt, meant all the useful works in his collection to be published, but although much has been done in this direction, still more remains to be done.

He was the son of Howell Vaughan, of Wengraig, in Merionethshire, and was born in 1592. His mother was the grand-daughter of Baron Lewis Owen, the judge who was murdered by the bandits known as Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, on his way home from the Dolgelley Assizes, after he had condemned one of their number to death. In 1612, Robert Vaughan entered Oriel College, Oxford, but retired, without taking a degree, to his home at Hengwrt, and devoted himself to the study of Welsh history and antiquities. He was in frequent correspondence with Archbishop Usher, when the latter was collecting materials for his *Primordia*, and there can be no doubt that the valuable Hengwrt collection proved of great use to the learned prelate. Some letters published in the *Cambrian Register*[1] testify to the help the one scholar gave to the other. John Jones, of Gelli Lyfdy,[2] another antiquarian, and a great friend of Robert Vaughan, also collected a number of Welsh MSS. There is a story that the two gentlemen made a compact that whichever was the survivor should receive the MSS. of the other. Vaughan survived, and added to his collection a number of MSS. variously estimated at from twenty-eight[3] to fifty. He himself had collected and translated 137. He always kept an amanuensis, but did a great part of the work himself. It was of absorbing interest to him, and it may account for the fact that he did not embroil

[1] *Cambrian Register*, ii. pp. 473-478. [2] "John Jones was a transcriber of inferior discernment, but an excellent penman" (Gwallter Mechain, ii p. 471). [3] Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, p. 127, states that Hengwrt Library contained 165 MSS., 28 of which were in the handwriting of John Jones.

himself in the political squabbles of his day. He was evidently a loyalist at heart.[1]

His notes, copies, and additions are of unrivalled value and of the greatest importance to present and future historians and antiquarians. He died in 1666,[2] and was buried at Dolgelley.

The most important only of his collection can be mentioned here:

Notes or Commentaries on the Book of Basingwerk; on Nennius; The Triads, with an English translation; Caradoc's *Brut;* Leland's New Year's Gift; Burton's Antoninus; Notes on Dr. Powell's History of Wales; Notes on Usher's *Primordia;* Annals of Wales from Vortigern downwards; Brut y Brenhinoedd; Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch; The Laws of Hywel Dda; Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin; Llyfr Taliesin; Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd; Chaucer's Works, in folio; Giraldus Cambrensis, &c., &c.

Vaughan was more than a gleaner of other men's works. He left remarkable proof of his own extensive knowledge of antiquities, and has preserved for us much store of what would possibly have passed into oblivion, save for his care and indomitable industry. The Cymmrodorion and the Welsh MSS. Societies, the University of Wales, as well as some private individuals have in recent years done something to put his valuable researches to proper use, and the future will, no doubt, add to the debt which Wales owes to his patient and persevering toil.

Two works of topographical interest appeared in 1662; the first entitled *The Memorials of Ray*[3] relates the travels of Ray and his friend Willoughby in Gwynedd, when they visited Denbigh, Bangor, Carnedd Llewelyn, Ynys Seiriol, Llanddwyn, Llanberis, Beddgelert, Clynnog, Bardsey and Harlech. The journey was really a botanical expedition to acquaint themselves with the plants and herbs of the district.[4] The second was "A book of

[1] See his second letter to Archbishop Usher, May 1, 1652, *Cambrian Register*, ii., pp. 473-478. [2] *Alumni Oxon*: states 1667. [3] John Ray, who helped Bishop Gibson with his edition of the *Britannia*, and was a friend and patron of Edward Llwyd. [4] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 190.

the Names of all the Parishes in England and Wales." No author is given.

In 1663 appeared "A description of Wales, by Sir John Price, published by Thomas Ellis, with Mr. Robert Vaaghan of Hengwrt's Notes." This work is supposed to consist of those sheets of the "History of Cambria," which Thomas Ellis had already sent to the Press when Enderbie's book appeared and the work was stopped. If this is so, the corrections and additions are so numerous that there is very little trace left of the original work. Sir John Price (mentioned in the title page) was an Elizabethan writer who published *Descriptio Britanniæ* in 1568,[1] and must not be confused with another of this name, who wrote in the seventeenth century.[2]

In the same year R. A., supposed to be Robert Armin,[3] published a play called "The Valiant Welshman, or the true Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deeds of Caradoc the Great King of Cambria, now called Wales, as it hath been sundry times acted by the Prince of Wales his servants."

The next five years were rather barren of anything of interest in this part of our subject, but in 1668 appeared a book of some importance, published by **David Lloyd**, and entitled "Memories of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, and Deaths of those Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Personages, that suffered by death, sequestration, decimation, or otherwise, for the Protestant Religion, and the great principles thereof, Alliance to their Sovereigne in our late intestine Wars, from the year 1637 to the year 1666, with the Life and Martyrdom of King Charles I. By David Lloyd, A.M., sometime of Oriel College, in Oxon. London, 1668." David Lloyd[4] (1635-1691) was a Welsh

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 23. [2] See Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 417. [3] Robert Armin (? 1570 - ? 1620) was an actor and dramatist who had associated much with Richard Tarlton, a famous clown and jester. Armin subsequently showed some dramatic ability and was engaged as an actor at the Globe Theatre, London. It is by no means certain that he wrote this book. The writer of the article on Robert Armin in the *D. N. B.* (vol. ii.) suggests that "the publisher may have wished the public to infer that Robert Armin was the author," which tends to show that they had a high opinion of his ability as an actor. [4] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 280, 281; *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 883-885.

clergyman of some fame, and published several other works which attracted notice at the time. He was the son of Hugh Lloyd, of Pantmawr, Trawsfynydd, where he was born in 1635, and educated at Ruthin and Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1656, M.A., 1659. He afterwards became chaplain to Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop of St. Asaph, who made him Canon of that Cathedral in 1670. He held the living of Abergele in 1671, and was preferred to Northop in 1672. Later on, he returned to his home at Trawsfynydd, where he died in 1691.

His book of "Memories, &c.," as well as his "Statesmen and Favourites," which had appeared in 1665, were condemned by the critics for their plagiarism. But this censure did not apply to Lloyd's previous works, five in number, one of which, "Worthies of the World: or the Lives of the most heroic Greeks and Romans compared, 1665," became very popular, and secured him a great measure of commendation. Unfortunately, Lloyd was soured by the critics, went into retirement, and gave up writing. He had suffered imprisonment in 1663 at the hands of the Earl of Bridgewater, for a description given of his Countess under the title "The Countess of Bridgewater's Ghost." Lloyd had meant to portray her virtues, but the title of the book (the lady was still alive) and his method of doing so, incurred the displeasure of the Earl.

A work of considerable antiquarian interest appeared in 1676, called "Britannia Antiqua Illustrata," by **Aylett Sammes,** of Christ's College, Cambridge; afterwards of the Inner Temple. He describes the original trade of this island with the Phœnicians, as well as the names of places, officies, dignities, idolatry, language and customs of the primitive inhabitants. He also gives a chronological history of Britain from the first traditional beginning to the year 800 A.D., and has much to say of the antiquities of the Saxons, as well as the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans. The volume is called the first volume, and is illustrated with wood-cuts. Sammes also published many other works.

Historical novels have been very few in Welsh literature, but one did appear in 1678, entitled "Tudor, A Prince of Wales. In Two Parts. London. Printed by H. H. for Jonathan Edwin, at the Sign of the Three Roses, on Ludgate Hill, 1678."

In 1679 the country was disturbed by the Popish Plot, and echoes of it are found in the literature of the time, which expresses the popular indignation against the Jesuits. Several publications appear relative to this abortive effort, as far as it touched Wales. The high feeling which prevailed is sufficient to account for the immoderate language used in these papers:

"The Condemnation of the Cheating Popist Priest, or, A brief account of the Tryal of Father Lewis, the pretended Bishop of Llandaff, at the last Assizes of Monmouth, March 28. Who lately cheated a poor woman of £15, and got a Warrant against her for £15 more, on pretence of praying for her father's soul out of Purgatory. With the condemnation of another Popish Priest at Gloucester," 1679.

"A True Narrative of the apprehension of William Geldon, *alias* Bacon, of Tregear, in Monmouthshire," 1679.

"A True Narrative of that Grand Jesuite Father Andrews, who lived at Hardwick, in Monmouthshire, how he fled into a large wood to escape Justice, how he came to an untimely End, and the manner of his Burial," 1679.

"A Collection of 10 different Broadsides and Single Sheets Published, relating to Mr. Arnold, the Monmouthshire Justice, Sir George Wakeman, and William Bedlow, who was so active at the Monmouth Trials of Jesuits and Malignants," 1678-1680.

"Short Narrative of the Discovery of a College of Jesuits at a place called Combe, in the County of Hereford, which was sent up by Herbert, Bishop of Hereford, to Parliament, according to order, to make diligent search and return an Account thereof, to which is added a true Relation of the Knavery of Father Lewis, the pretended Bishop of Llandaff, now a prisoner at Monmouth Gaol. Printed by T. N. 1679."

"Letter from a Gentleman in the County to his Friend in London, occasioned by a Prophesie that was lately found in the place of retirement of Father Lewis of Combe, in Herefordshire." 1679.

"The Information of Turbervill, of Skerr, in the County of Glamorgan, Gent," 1680. This contains much information concerning the Welsh Roman Catholics, who were disloyal to the Government at the time, and an account of a plot in Wales. And further light upon those times is thrown by the :

"Examination taken upon Oath in the Counties of Monmouth and Hereford, Reported to Sir John Trevor, Chairman of the Committee to prevent the growth of Popery, with the Account given to the House of Commons by Jno. Arnold and John Scudamore, of the Encouragement given to Popery in the Counties of Monmouth and Hereford. 1680."

In the same year, three more documents were published for which revelations of the Popish Plot, real or imaginary, were responsible :

"Clamor Sanguinis, or the Cry of Blood, being a short but true Account of a Barbarous and Bloody Assault . . . made on the Body of John Arnold, Esq., Justice of the Peace for the County of Monmouth 1680."

It seems that Arnold had been instrumental in bringing to his execution a certain Captain Evans of Glamorgan, a Jesuit (sometimes stated to be a priest), and the Jesuits are said to have avenged Evans by their plan to murder Arnold.[1]

"An account of an Attempt upon the Person of Mr. Arnold, one of His Majestie's Justices of the Peace for the County of Monmouth . . . . 15 Ap., 1680."

This account varies from the previous one, amongst other things in the time in which it is stated the assault took place.

"England's Second Warning-Piece, Observation on the Barbarous Attempt to Murther Justice Arnold . . . Ap. 15, 1680, with a copy of the pretended Speech of Evans the Popish Priest executed in Glamorganshire."

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 222.

Several, who were said to be disguised Jesuit Priests, were put to death at this time at Cardiff. Mr. Arnold recovered from his wounds, which had proved well-nigh fatal.

. . . . . .

There is only one work mentioned in the *Cambrian Bibliography*, of the very celebrated and learned **Dr. Peter Heilyn** (or Heylyn, 1599-1662), and that is:

"The Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts of the Reverend and Learned Peter Heylyn, D.D. Now collected into one Volume, and to which are added an Account of the Life of the Author, &c., London, Printed by M. Clark, 1681."

Yet he was one of the most active writers of his age, and he is described in "The History of Oxford University" as one of the most remarkable men of the century.[1] He was the second son of Henry Heilyn, of Burford, Oxfordshire, and nephew of Rowland Heilyn, who was the last heir male of Pentre Heilyn, in the Parish of Llandysilio, Montgomeryshire.[2] Educated at Oxford, he became Demy and Fellow of Magdalen College.[3] He took Orders in 1623 and became chaplain to Laud, whose religious sympathies he shared and whose views he ably promulgated. During the reign of Charles I. he obtained valuable preferment in the benefice of Houghton in Durham, which he afterwards exchanged for Ailresford, in Hampshire, and became Rector of Hemingford in 1631. He was Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1618-30.

In 1620, he published his "Geography," but King James, to whom a copy was presented, took umbrage at a reference in which France was given preference to England. This did not prevent a second edition being published in 1624.

Perhaps the most noted incident in his life was his controversy with the distinguished scholar Prideaux. The two points at issue in this discussion, as stated by Wood, were: (1) An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis? (2) An Ecclesia possit errare? The wide difference between the two Churchmen was seen in that

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 275-285. [2] *Manual of Welsh Lit.*, p. 155.
[3] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 275.

Peter Heilyn said No! to both of these questions, whilst Prideaux answered both with a direct affirmative.

In 1668, when "The Life of Laud" was published, the author showed that both Laud and Heilyn were equally enemies to Popery and Puritanism, a statement which, perhaps, correctly defines the attitude of both men. Amongst the numerous works produced by Heilyn may be mentioned:

"Microcosmus: A Description of the Great World." 1622.

This was afterwards enlarged and printed in folio in a work which appeared in four parts, entitled "Cosmography in four Books," 1652, 1664, 1677, 1682. The last three parts were printed after the author's death. In his latter years he could neither see to write nor read.

"The History of St. George of Cappadocia," 1631, with which was printed "The Institution of the most noble Order of St. George, named the Garter," and a "Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the first Institution to this present."

"A Coal from the Altar," 1636. This was an answer to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who had written against "the Communion Table standing Altar-ways."

He also wrote a "History of the Episcopacy," and a "Historical Narration of Liturgies" in 1642; and a "Brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the most Reverend and Renowned Prelate the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a copy of his Speech and other passages on the Scaffold," 1644.

He was deprived of his benefices during the Commonwealth, and suffered great poverty, but was reinstated at the Restoration. His highest preferment was the Sub-deanery of Westminster. He died in 1662.

He had won for himself a recognised place amongst the historians of the 17th century, and was possessed of the critical faculty to a great degree. When Thomas Fuller produced his most celebrated work, the huge *Church History of Britain* in

1656, much as it was praised, and widely as it was read, "its accuracy was impugned by Dr. Peter Heylin."[1]

In 1685, Edward Stillingfleet (1633-1699), Dean of St. Paul's published "*Origines Britannicae*," or "The Antiquities of British Churches."

He wrote this work in support of Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaph, who had published in 1684 "An Historical Account of Church Government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they received the Christian Religion." Stillingfleet had become Bishop of Worcester, in 1689, and an intimate friendship existed between him and Bishop Lloyd, who was one of the most lovable men of his age.

This is that same Bishop Lloyd who had public discussions with the Quakers and Nonconformists. The work he had issued in 1684 may be instanced as a specimen of the arguments then employed by him against Richard Davies, the Quaker, and James Owen, the Nonconformist, at Llanfyllin and Oswestry. The discussions were conducted with perfect good temper and moderation on both sides, which was quite a pattern to that controversial age, and although the disputants differed as widely at the end as at the start on the points at issue, yet there was knit between them a warm friendship which lasted their life-time.

Two papers relating to the Court of the Marches were published in 1689, one giving reasons for its abolition, and the other showing the particular conveniences of that Court. Neither has the name of any author attached.

In 1695, a writer signing himself R. B. produced "The History of Britain," in which some interesting information is given of the Principality. The portion relating to Wales divides itself into three divisions: (1) "A brief account of the Ancient Kings and Princes of Brittain and Wales till the final Extinguishing of the Royal British Line." (2) "Remarks upon the Lives of all the Princes of Wales, of the Royal Families of England, from King Edward the First to this time." (3) "Remarkable Observa-

[1] Garnett and Gosse's *History of English Literature*, iii., p. 50.

tions on the most Memorable Persons and Places in Wales, and of many considerable Transactions and Passages that have happened therein for many hundred years past. . . . . Together with Natural and Artificial Rarities and Wonders in the several Counties of the Principality, by R. B. 1695."

Gwilym Lleyn thinks that R. B. stands for Robert Burton, a writer who produced several small works of a similar nature, of which the following are instanced: "The History of the House of Orange"; "The History of Oliver Cromwell"; "The Historie of the Kingdom of Ireland," and many others. This Robert Burton, if Gwilym Lleyn's contention is correct, is not to be confused with the able author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," who flourished in the same century.[1]

A small book of some interest, which appeared in 1695, is that entitled "Valor Beneficiorum, or a Valuation of all Ecclesiastical Preferments in England and Wales, 1695." It enables a comparison to be made of the value of benefices before and after the Restoration. In some cases, funds diverted during the Commonwealth had not been restored, and there was considerable shrinkage.

Still another "History of Wales" appeared before the end of the century, in 1697. Its author was the Rev. William Wynne (1650-?1711), M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. It is a re-arrangement and improvement of the work of Dr. Powell, who had mainly relied upon the Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan. Wynne considerably augmented Powell's work, and his edition was considered so valuable that it was re-issued twice during the eighteenth century.[2] The author was the son of John Wynne, of Henllan, in Denbighshire. He was ordained by the Bishop of Bangor, and laboured in that diocese. It is believed that he died before the year 1711.[3] He was buried at Bangor.

The last author whose work will be noticed in this chapter is the noted antiquary, philologist, and natural scientist,

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. ,257. [2] See *Manual of Welsh Lit.*, p. 139. [3] *Alumni Oxon*: also *Hearne's Collections*, vol. iii. p. 201.

Edward Lhwyd (1660-1709). Although part of his work was published in the eighteenth century, it was accomplished, for the most part, in the seventeenth, and he lived forty years of his short life in this century. He was the son of Edward Lhoyd, of Llanvorda, near Oswestry, by Bridget Pryse, of Glanfroed, a member of the ancient Gogerddan family. He was born in the parish of Lappiton,[1] as testified in Llanstephan M.S. 185, p. 120. This manuscript had been in Lhwyd's possession for many years, and if it were incorrect, he would, no doubt, have altered the statement. He probably received his early education at Oswestry Grammar School. At the age of twenty-two, he entered Jesus College,[3] Oxford, and was one of its most illustrious sons at a time when its *alumni* were filling some of the highest offices in Church and State.[2] Whilst an undergraduate, he obtained the post of assistant at the Ashmolean Museum, which had been opened in 1683, and worked there under Dr. Plot, whom he succeeded as Keeper in 1690. This preferment gave him greater freedom, and whereas he had previously confined his researches to the neighbourhood of Oxford, he now extended his sphere of activities, and as a result of his investigations in Wales, he was able to supply Bishop Gibson with much valuable material for his edition of *Britannia*, which was published in 1695. In that same year he conceived a more ambitious design, viz., to prepare a work which would include a British Dictionary, an Essay entitled *Archæologia Britannica*, and a Natural History of Wales, and he received sufficient support and encouragement, at the time, to begin the work. He issued an elaborate syllabus in the form of *Parochial Queries* devised to elicit the information he required, and circulated them with the approval of John Wallis, Edward Bernard, Martin Lister, and John Ray. Sixteen of them

[1] See Mr. Richard Ellis's able article in *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1906-07, published in 1908. [2] ibid, p. 3. See also "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Maurice, D.D., *Cambrian Register*, 1799.
[3] Wood is wrong in his date, having confused our author with Edward Lloyd, of Kidwelly.

pertained to geographical and antiquarian information, and thirty-one to natural history, and they were of a very searching character.[1] In 1696 he began his tour of North Wales, and visited Cowbridge and Swansea in the same year. He spent part of 1697 in Merionethshire, and of 1698 in Flintshire. In the latter year he visited Ireland, thence proceeding to Scotland, where he mentions that the inhabitants treated him with great kindness and civility. In 1699 he returned to Wales, and then paid a visit to Cornwall. He landed at St. Malo in 1700, hoping to investigate the history and antiquities of Britanny, but he was received there with great suspicion, and imprisoned for eighteen days as a spy. He returned to Oxford in 1701, and proceeded to arrange his materials for the publication of his great work. The first part of the *Archæologia Britannica* appeared in 1707, and was entitled the *Glossography*. It really comprised a very small portion of his researches, and was not received with great satisfaction by some of his patrons. The great scholars of the time, however, acknowledged its worth, and Lhwyd was rewarded in 1708 by being admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. His University, in the following year, appointed him Superior Beadle of Divinity, a post which gave him a competence which, small as it was, he had never before enjoyed. Oxford had also conferred upon him the M.A. degree on his return from Britanny in 1701. But, on the whole, his labours had been very inadequately acknowledged. He lived but a few months to enjoy his new dignity. He had contracted asthma on one of his journeys, and having slept in a damp room at the Ashmolean, he developed pleurisy, from which he died on June 30, 1709. He was buried in the Welsh aisle in St. Michael's Church, Oxford.

In his various journeys he had collected a considerable number of manuscripts, and these, in addition to his own valuable work which had not been published, were offered for sale at his death. Many, if not most of them, were bought by Sir Thomas Sebright,[2] of Beechwood, Hertfordshire. He presented the Irish

[1] *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166. [2] See article on *Edward Lhwyd* in *D. N. B.*

part of them to Trinity College, Dublin. In 1807 Sir Watkin Williams Wynn bought the Lhwyd collection, but much of it was destroyed by fire when in the hands of the binders.

Edward Lhwyd's published works are:

"Archæologia Britannica; an account of the Languages, Histories, and Customes of Great Britain, from collections and observations in Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland. Vol. I. Glossography, 1707."

He had designed to publish the work in four parts, the first to contain "A comparison of the modern Welsh with other European Languages"; the second, "A comparison of the Customes and Traditions of the Britans with those of other nations"; the third, "An Account of all such monuments now remaining in Wales as are presum'd to be British; and either older or not much later than the Roman Conquest, viz., their camps and Buryal places, the monuments call'd Cromlecheu and Meineu gŵyr; their Coyns, Arms, Amulets, &c.," the fourth, "An Account of the Roman Antiquities there, and some others of later date, dureing the Government of the British Princes; together with copies of all the Inscriptions of any considerable Antiquity, as yet remaining in that country."

In 1699, he published *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*. This is a catalogue of the fossils at the Ashmolean Museum. It is interesting to note that Sir Isaac Newton had contributed towards the expense of printing it. It is full of inaccuracies, owing to Lhwyd's absence from Oxford while it was being printed.

A condition upon which he had received his M.A. degree was that he should read "six solemn lectures upon Natural History, one every year."[1] These were published at Leipzig in 1733 in a work by Luick, entitled "*De Stellis Marinis*."

His correspondence with Henry Rowland is printed in *Mona Antiqua*. pp. 301-18.

[1] See article on *Edward Lhwyd* in *D. N. B.*

The great bulk of his work was left in MSS., which included forty folio volumes, ten quartos, and one hundred miscellaneous.

On a visit to Cambridge in 1702 he discovered the *Glosses* and the *englynion* of the Juvencus MS.[1]

His great work, the *Archæologia Britannica*, marks a new epoch in the history of Welsh philology. A profound knowledge of the Celtic languages, a critical spirit far in advance of his time, and a remarkably modern scientific method of treatment, are apparent in every page of this monumental work. In this branch of knowledge he was the link between Dr. Gruffydd Roberts, of Milan, and the recently departed and much lamented Sir John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. By his comparative method of treatment, he discovered Grimm's Law more than a century before Grimm formulated it. Lhwyd's contributions to natural science and archæology are equally significant and important. His published works are very numerous and scattered, but his services to literature as a collector of manuscripts alone were very great. Although his countrymen failed to appreciate the significance of his work during his time, and for more than a century after his death, modern scholarship has fully re-established his claims to be esteemed as the pioneer of modern philology in Britain.[2] Sir John Rhys' opinion of him was that "he was in many respects the greatest Celtic philologist the world has ever seen. It is not too much to say that had Celtic philology walked in the ways of Edward Lhwyd, and not of such men as Dr. Pughe and Col. Vallancy, it would by this time have reached a far higher ground than it has, and native scholars would have left no room for the meteoric appearance of Zeuss or of the other Germans who have succeeded him in the same field of study."[3]

[1] *Trans. of Cymmrod. Soc.*, 1908, p. 44.

[2] Dr. Gruffydd Roberts had led the way to the discovery of the laws of sound changes in words borrowed from the Latin. The same laws were perceived by Edward Lhwyd, who further developed them; but it was Sir John Rhys who fully discovered them and showed how gradually the changes took place.—J. C. M. [3] Address delivered at Oswestry, June, 1896, quoted in *Bye-Gones*, vol. xiii. p. 363.

Lhwyd's personal character, as given by Hearne, was that of "a person of singular modesty, good nature, and uncommon industry . . . . not at all ambitious of preferment or honour, and what he does is purely out of love to the good of learning and his country."[1]

"Hwyliaist or Llwybreu halaeth, gan hoffi
Anhyffordd Wybodaeth
Allan on Dysc, lle nid aeth
Un Dyn i Derfyn d' Arfaeth.

Meini nâdd a Mynyddoedd, a Gwalieu
Ac olion Dinasoedd,
A Dail dy Fyfyrdod oedd,
A Hanesion Hen Oesoedd.

. . . . . .

Chwiliaist, ti gefaist yn gyfan Addysc
Y Derwyddon allan;
A Bri y Cowri, ai Can,
Ai Hiroes gynt, ai Harian.

. . . . . .

Garw yw huno Gwr hynod heb orphen
Ei berffaith Fyfyrdod,
Rhoddem a feddem dy fod
O law Angeu, Lew yngod.

A thra bo Athro bywiawl, na cherrig,
Na Chaerau Dieithrawl,
Nag un Llyseuyn llesawl,
Na hen Iaith, bydd faith dy Fawl."[2]

[1] *Hearne's Collections*, vol. i. p. 244. [2] *Englynion* in *Carmen Englynicum in Obitum . . . Edwardi Luidii*, quoted in *Cymmrod. Trans.*, 1906-7, p. 50.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL WRITINGS

(a) The Editions of the Holy Scriptures.

(b) The Editions of the Psalms and The Book of Common Prayer.

(c) Other Works, Religious and Moral.

ON its religious side, the seventeenth century produced a considerable number of books and pamphlets which can be broadly included under the three headings given above. It was a period of transition. The changes wrought by the end of the century were of a far-reaching character, and they took place under conditions the reverse of normal. Sometimes changes take place quietly and almost imperceptibly. A new outlook upon life and a new attitute towards its problems are reached by a slow and natural process. At other times changes are brought about suddenly, under the stress of some political or religious upheaval. This was what happened in the seventeenth century. And nowhere does the remark apply more truly than to the domain of religious literature in Wales. The current divinity of the early seventeenth century, both in England and Wales, was on the downward grade. The decline in lucidity and strength from the standard of the sixteenth century is remarkable. This is, perhaps, not surprising, for it merely underwent the depression which affected this branch of literature throughout Europe.

In the previous chapter it was shewn how the Civil War affected Wales. The overthrow of the King and the substitution of the Commonwealth brought into prominence such important questions as the toleration of religious dissent, and that of Church discipline generally. The Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, which was put into operation in 1650, threw men's minds into a turmoil. The ejection of the clergy was a drastic measure which made thoughtful men pause, and was only a cause for rejoicing to an inconsiderable minority, some of whom hoped to benefit by the process. The attitude of Wales towards Puritanism in the early part of the century had not been extreme. On the accession of James I., at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, had spoken in favour

of treating the Puritans with "love and moderation."[1] Many of the Puritans, in fact, used to preach in the Churches at Evensong.[2] When Laud became Bishop of St. David's in 1621, he made regulations against this. But the policy of Laud in the Church and of Charles I. in the State was not endorsed by the majority of the Welsh bishops. After Laud's translation to London, we find that three Welsh bishops, Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. J. Owen, Bishop of St. Asaph; and Dr. W. Roberts, Bishop of Bangor, were sent to the Tower, in 1641.[3] The attitude of some of the Welsh clergy towards the "Book of Sports" has already been noticed. Bearing these things in mind, one is hardly prepared for the drastic treatment meted out to the Welsh Church by the Commonwealth under the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel." It was really the work of a few extreme men, who got the power into their own hands, as a reward for their political help to the Commonwealth. The names of the Commissioners appointed by Cromwell are given by Peters[4] as follows; "Henry Walter, Walter Cradock, Richard Simonds, Roger Charnock, Jenkin Lloyd, Morris Bidwell, David Walter, William Seaborn, Edmund Ellis, Jenkin Jones, George Robinson, Richard Powell, Robert Powell, Thomas Ewen, John Miles, Oliver Thomas, Dr. John Ellis, Ambrose Mostyn, Morgan Lloyd, William Jones, Richard Edwards, Vavasor Powell, Richard Swain, and Rowland Nevet."[5] Walker gives a list of one hundred and twenty clergy who were deprived under the "Act," and the three reasons alleged for their removal were (1) that they were ignorant of religious principles, (2) neglected to preach, and (3) were immoral. According to Walker they were allowed one-fifth of their income. Their places were filled by appointing six "itinerant preachers" in each county, who received an income of £100 a year each. In addition, thirty-two ministers were sent

[1] See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, i. pp. 424-427. [2] See Peter's *Hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru*, p. 509. [3] ibid p. 520. [4] ibid p. 534. [5] Sir Erasmus Philipps should also be included in the list of Commissioners. He played an important part in the affairs of Wales at this time. See Article by Rev. T. Shankland, M.A., in *The Transactions of the Cymmrodorion* (1904-05), p. 75.

forth and a number of local preachers to make up the rest of the deficiency. When we are solemnly told by Neal[1] that this number was insufficient to do the work of the dispossessed clergy, it proves one of two things, either that the 120 clergy were very energetic men, or that the nnmber of ejections was under-stated by Walker. It can be assumed that their substitutes were above reproach.

After the Commissioners had been at work in Wales for two years, one thousand petitioners from South Wales besought Parliament on behalf of the dispossessed clergy. They spoke of the pitiful condition of the country, and asked that the men who had received all the Church emoluments should be brought to account. Parliament appointed a Committee to ask the Commissioners to report to them within a month, but the Long Parliament dissolved before anything was done. In 1654, Cromwell called the "Taenwyr" to account. He appointed Sir Hugh Owen and eighteen men from the South, and Mathew Morgan and twelve men from the North to further an inquiry. Neale states that the results of that inquiry were satisfactory, and the Commissioners' accounts commended.[2] At the Restoration, the ministers appointed by the Commissioners in Wales were not turned out in the cases where the dispossessed clergy had died.[3] This in itself argues a spirit of toleration beyond what might have been expected of those times. It must be remembered that many of those who were ejected had previously ejected the rightful owners.[4]

The above outline of the forces at work in Wales has been given, not to keep alive the antagonism of the past, but to show what it was that led to the awakening from the lethargy which had oppressed the country in the early years of the century, as far as its literary history is concerned. Those early years saw the decline of letters both in England and Wales. Stagnation in literary history means decline. To stand still is to go back.

[1] Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. p. 548. [2] Vol. ii. pp. 455-459.
[3] Peter's *Hanes Crefydd*, p. 548. [4] ibid, pp. 560-561.

When we contrast the paucity of literary productions in the first half of the century with the prolific output of the second half, we are forced to the conclusion that the main cause for the change lies in the political and religious struggles of which the above events were the outward expression.

The question of the toleration of religious nonconformity led to the production of an extraordinary amount of writing in England. There was great "searching after antiquities, the collection of authorities, and the rectification of records."[1] This movement had its influence upon Wales. The Civil War had thrown the two countries into closer contact than had existed previously. We have already noticed how men like Morgan Llwyd were drawn into the vortex. Such works as William Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants" (1637), one of the strongest prose works produced in England, came under the notice of Welsh religious thinkers, and this instance may be multiplied many times over. Tillotson and other thinkers of his school had also a wide influence on Welsh religious thought. The divines of the period became something more than preachers. They began to see the necessity for lifting the ignorance which lay like a pall over the masses, and we presently see the co-operation of an English divine like Thomas Gouge with a Welsh preacher and teacher of the type of Stephen Hughes in an attempt to educate them. Such works as Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" (1650), and "Holy Dying" (1651), had also a far reaching influence in Wales. Taylor himself, who had been captured, at the battle of Cardigan in 1645,[2] but was soon released, withdrew to South Wales when the Royalist cause declined, and kept a school there. In the "retiring and agreeable solitude" which he enjoyed at the Golden Grove, when he accepted the hospitality of the Earl of Carbery, he produced some of his best work, and did much by his efforts as a schoolmaster to enlighten the population in those parts. The accumulation of such instances as have been mentioned shows that matters were

[1] Garnett and Gosse *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, ii. p. 386. [2] ibid, iii. p. 39.

moving at last in Wales, and that she was stirring the stagnant waters of her political and religious life. Something of the restlessness of the times is typified in the life and work of that strange man, James Howell, son of Thomas Howell, of Abernant, Carmarthenshire, whose career, erratic as it was, showed that the spirit of enquiry had entered the minds of young Welshmen, and had led them to desire acquaintance with a larger world than their own Welsh hills and valleys. Having linguistic gifts, he became unusually skilled in the principal European languages, and travelled much in Holland, Spain, Italy, and Denmark. He began his literary career in 1640, by the publication of *Dodona's Grove*. Later on, from the Fleet Prison, he issued his famous *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, or *Familiar Letters*, of which four volumes were issued between 1645 and 1655. They were read with extreme avidity, "and marked the rise of a new class of literature, the elaborately-composed essay-letter."[1]

Charles II. was much impressed by Howell's learning, and created the post of Historiograper Royal for him in 1661, and endowed it so amply that he spent the close of his harassed life in comparative comfort.

Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, is another remarkable instance of the wider outlook enjoyed by Welshmen at this time. Practising as a physician in the small town of Brecon, and wholly given to piety, he attained quite a respectable place in the world of letters, and his poems were widely read. They breathe a spirit of true inward religion, which could not fail to have an uplifting influence on his countrymen and others. A good example of his penetration into the reality of things is furnished by his poem "The Retreat," which appeared in a collection made by some of his friends, published under the title *Thalia Rediviva* in 1678:

> Happy those early days, when I
> Shined in my angel-infancy!
> Before I understood this place
> Appointed for my second race,
> Or taught my soul to fancy ought
> But a white, celestial thought;

[1] Garnett and Gosse *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, iii. p. 48.

When yet I had not walked above
A mile or two, from my first love,
And looking back—at that short space—
Could see a glimpse of His bright face;
When on some gilded cloud or flower
My gazing soul would dwell an hour,
And in those weaker glories spy
Some shadows of Eternity;
Before I taught my tongue to wound
My conscience with a sinful sound,
Or had the black art to dispense,
A sev'ral sin to every sense,
But felt through all this fleshy dress
Bright shoots of everlastingness.

It is no small tribute to Welshmen, that they should have shown the way to a new class of prose literature, very much akin to modern journalism, as James Howell did, and have attained the standard of poetic excellence to which the lines just quoted from Henry Vaughan testify.

When two such events as the establishment of a Commonwealth and the restoration of monarchy happened in the same century, it could not be otherwise than that public interest was concentrated on political questions. But collateral with the political questions of that day was the deeper problem of religion, and it is not unnatural that the Welsh mind should have addressed itself to this more than to the other. The temperament of the Welsh nation is sufficient to account for the preference, and even a cursory glance at the productions of the seventeenth century shows how considerations for religion outweighed everything else. We will first consider:

(a) THE EDITIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

A nation seeking to put its religious life in order, instinctively turned to a consideration of those Scriptures upon which all Christian belief is founded. The great work of giving Wales the Scriptures in its own tongue had been started by William Salesbury, Bishop Morgan, and his co-adjutors in the latter part of the sixteenth century, but whereas it had then been undertaken

by men of one school of religious thought, it now claimed the devotion and zeal of many who no longer accepted the doctrine and government of the Established Church, and in many particulars were openly at variance with her. Nevertheless, they were in perfect agreement that the fundamentals of the Christian Faith are based upon Holy Scripture.

The year 1620 stands out in the history of religious literature in this century in Wales, as 1611 does in that of England. For that year saw the publication of Bishop Parry's revised version of Bishop Morgan's 1588 Bible. Its title ran:

> "Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan, sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. 2 Tim. 3. 16. Yr holl Scrythur sydd wedi ei rhoddi gan ysprydoliaeth Dduw, ac sydd fuddiol i athrawiaethu, i argyhoeddi, i geryddu, i hyfforddi mewn cyfiawnder: 17 Fel y byddo dyn Duw yn berffaith, wedi ei berffeithio i bob gweithred da.
>
> Printiedig yn Llundain gan Bonham Norton a Iohn Bill, Printwyr i Ardderchoccaf fawrhydi y Brenhin. 1620."

With some few alterations, this work remains the Authorized Version of the Welsh Bible to-day. It is so important that it needs as much detailed attention as the scope of the present volume admits.

It should be stated at the outset, that Bishop Morgan had accepted *in the main* the New Testament as translated by William Salesbury and Dr. Davies, his part being that of a reviser only. But between 1588 and 1604, Bishop Morgan again revised the New Testament, for what reasons it is not stated, and it was ready for the press at the time of his death[1] in 1604, but the matter proceeded no further. We can conjecture, however that Bishop Parry, who was Morgan's successor in the See of St Asaph, knew of this revision, and probably knew also that it had been Bishop Morgan's desire to revise the whole Bible. Assuming that Bishop Parry knew this, and sympathised with it, he had a further incentive to the work in the knowledge that in that very

[1] Ames *Typogr*: *Antiq*: p. 435.

year, 1604, a body of Divines in England had been appointed to revise the English Scriptures,[1] and to publish their work when completed, having the sanction of the Royal authority and that of Parliament for the project.

A further reason that influenced Bishop Parry in his decision to revise the whole of the Scriptures was the demand for Bibles on the part of the churches. The number issued by Bishop Morgan had been very limited—barely sufficient for the needs of the parish churches and chapelries throughout Wales. Over thirty years' wear andt ear would leave the majority of these in a dilapidated condition.

It would be easy to add other cumulative reasons, the strongest of which was, perhaps, that the Cymry, having heard the Word of God in their own tongue for over a quarter of a century, would be intolerant of its loss, and would never brook the return to a tongue "not understanded of the people," whether it was Latin or English.

So the Bishop, with able assistance, began his revision. The alterations made were considerable, and it remains, with some corrections, the standard translation of the Bible, which has done more to preserve and foster the Welsh language than any other book, although the Welsh Book of Common Prayer shares with it this pride of place.

It was printed in London, as the title-page shows, by Norton and Bill, printers to His Majesty, in 1620; and a copy was presented to the King, which is now preserved in the British Museum.[2] It is a folio edition printed in black letter, and its divisions are similar to those of the 1588 Bible. The contents of each chapter are given above it, and references appear in the margin. There is a Calendar prefixed, as well as a Latin dedication, "Sacrosanctae et individuae Trinitati," &c. The main interest of this dedication is the account given by the Editor of his inducements to the work. He admits having taken many

[1] This had been decided on at the Hampton Court Conference, 1604.
[2] Llewelyn's *Versions of the Bible*, p. 28.

liberties with the former translation, varying it and altering it as he deemed expedient "*ut et hic sit* αμφιδοξωμενον παραδειγμα, *et dictu sit difficile, num vetus an nova, Morgani an mea, dicenda sit versio.*"

He goes on to state that the former impression of the Bible had been exhausted, that many or most of the churches were either without any, or only possessed of imperfect copies, and modestly adds that as no one else had thought of a republication. he himself had embarked upon the work of translation. Dr. Llewelyn, who makes a comparison between England and Wales in this matter, draws attention to the credit deserved by Bishop Parry in that "he was entirely a volunteer,"[1] whereas the English version had behind it the full weight and influence of the King and Government. Parry had responded to the needs of his country, which was on the verge of being plunged into pre-Reformation darkness, for the few copies left in the churches were all that stood between monoglot Welshmen and the extinguishing of that light which Bishop Morgan's zeal and scholarship had kindled.

Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, was Chaplain to Bishop Parry at this time, and was of invaluable help to his Ordinary in the production of this great work. He was deeply versed in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and had spent the best part of his life in studying the language of his own country, as his *Grammar* and *Dictionary* testify. He had also taken an active share in Bishop Morgan's translation, and now brought his ripe scholarship and experience to bear upon the new project. It was an uncommonly high privilege to have shared in the two principal translations of the Bible, and he esteemed it so. A Chancellor of St. Asaph and Bangor wrote of Dr. Davies "*In Bibliorum (Britan. scilicet) ultimâ et emendatâ editione. Joannes Davies perutilem impendit operam.*"[2] Anthony Wood (1632-1695) the distinguished Oxford scholar, who preserved a vast quantity of information concerning the *alumni* of that University,

[1] Llewelyn's *Versions of the Bible*, p. 31. [2] ibid, p. 32.

which might otherwise have been lost, paid an especial compliment to the work of Dr. Davies, and weighed his fitness for the task in the following words[1]: "He was esteemed well versed in the history and antiquities of his own nation, well versed in the Greek and Hebrew languages, a most exact critick, an indefatigable person and well acquainted with curious and rare authors."

The number of books published in this edition is not known. From its size it was principally intended for public worship, and probably the number did not exceed that of the churches and chapelries.

Some account must now be given of Bishop Parry, the master-mind and originator of this work.

Bishop Richard Parry (1560-1623) was one of eight distinguished prelates, natives of Wales, who in succession occupied the See of St. Asaph.[2] He was born at Ruthin in 1560,[3] educated at Westminster School under the able tuition of William Camden, entered as a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1580, and afterwards proceeded to Holy Orders. It is incorrect to state that he became master of Ruthin Grammar School, for Gabriel Goodman's school had not yet been founded. Wood and Bishop Humphreys both state that he taught at Ruthin, but it was possibly at some institution which existed prior to 1590—the date of Dean Goodman's foundation. In 1592, he was appointed Vicar of Gresford and Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral, and in 1599 he became Dean of Bangor. At Bishop Morgan's death in 1604, he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph. He died at Dyserth, in Flintshire, in 1623, and was buried at St. Asaph Cathedral, as Bishop Morgan had been.

A short account of Dr. John Davies will be given in the chapter dealing with his *Grammar*.

The chief aim of the translators seems to have been to simplify and clarify the language and idioms. Bishop Morgan

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i. p. 597. [2] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 390.
[3] He was the eldest son of John Parry, Esq., of Pwll Halog, Denbighshire, a noble family.

had kept rather too closely to the original, and had introduced with too great frequency such expressions as *yna*, *felly*, *gan hynny*, which were unidiomatic, and could easily be avoided by using the simple relative *a*. In many cases the Hebraisms of Bishop Morgan were rejected for the Anglicisms of the 1611 Bible. Gwilym Lleyn, Gwallter Mechain, and Gweirydd ap Rhys have made comparisons between the 1588 and 1620 editions, and have furnished numerous illustrations which show the respective merits and defects of the two editions. The general opinion seems to be that although Bishop Parry's Bible is in some respects an advance on Bishop Morgan's, numerous instances can be pointed out where the latter excelled. The syntax has certainly been considerably modified in the 1620 edition. It will be sufficient to give a few instances which are typical of the corrections made in this edition :

BISHOP MORGAN.	BISHOP PARRY.
1. Yna dec brodyr Ioseph.	1. A dec brodyr Ioseph. *Gen.* 42 [3]
2. Pharao gan hynny a ddywedodd.	2. A Pharao a ddywedodd. *Gen.* 41 [17]
3. Felly y gwŷr a gymmerasant yr anrheg.	3. A'r gwŷr a gymmerasant yr anrheg. *Gen.* 43 [15]
4. Ei gwrysc hi oeddynt addfed [eu] grawnwin.	4. Ei grawnsypiau hi a ddug rawnwin addfed. *Gen.* 40 [10]
5. Efe a gyscodd hefyd ac a freuddwydiodd.	5. Ac efe a gysgodd ac a freuddwydiodd. *Gen.* 40 [5]
6. Tydi a oruchwyli fy nhŷ fi, ac ar dy fin y cusana fy mhobl oll.	6. Tydi a fyddi ar fy nhŷ, ac wrth dy air di y llywodraethir fy mhobl oll. *Gen.* 41 [40]
7. burgynnod.	7. celaneddau. *Gen.* 15 [11]
8. elephant. *Job* 40 [10]	8. behemoth. *Job* 40 [15]
9. Wele efe a orthryma afon [fel] na phrysuro hi i [redeg] efe a obeithie y rhuthre Iorddonen iw safn ef. *Job* 40 [18]	9. Wele efe a ŷf yr afon [ac] ni phrysura, efe a obeithiai y tynnai efe yr Iorddonen i'w safn. *Job* 40 [23]

BISHOP MORGAN.	BISHOP PARRY.
10. [Myfi] yr hwn a osodais yr anialwch yn dŷ iddo: a'r morfa yn drigfa iddo ef.	10. Yr hwn y gosodais yr anialwch yn dŷ iddo: a'r diffaethwch yn drigfa iddo. *Job* 39 [6]
11. Cof yw gennym y pyscod y rhai a fwyttasom yn yr Aipht yn rhad.	11. Cof yw gennym y pyscod yr oeddym yn ei fwytta. *Num.* 11 [5]
12. Etifeddiaeth a syrthiodd i ni mewn [lleoedd] hyfryd.	12. Y llinynau a syrthiodd i mi mewn lleoedd hyfryd. *Psalm* 16 [6]
13. Ac fe a ddygwyd dau eraill, y rhai [oeddynt] ddrwgweithredwyr i'w rhoi i'w marwolaeth gyd âg ef.	13. Ac arweiniwyd gyd âg ef hefyd ddau ddrwgweithredwyr eraill i'w rhoi i'w marwolaeth. *St. Luke* 23 [32]
14. Yn trin tarian a gwaiw-ffon.	14. Yn medru trin tarian a bwccled. 1 *Chron.* 12 [8]
15. O honoch ill dau.	15. O honoch eich dau. *Gen.* 27 [45]
16. Rhoddasant yn ol eu gallu i dryssor-dŷ'r gwaith chwe myrddiwn, a mil o ddracmonau aur, a phum mil o bunnoedd arian.	16. Rhoddasant yn ôl eu gallu i dryssor-dŷ y gwaith un fil a thriugain o ddracmonau aur, a phum mil o bunnoedd o arian. *Ezra* 2 [69]
17. A chafwyd mewn cist.	17. A chafwyd yn Achmetha. *Ezra* 6 [2]
18. Gofidus yw.	18. Drwg diobaith ydyw. *Jer.* 27 [9]
19. Rhoddais hefyd fiswrn ar dy wyneb.	19. Rhoddais hefyd dlws ar dy dalcen. *Ezek.* 16 [12]
20. Ffieidd-dra anrheithiol.	20. Ffieidd-dra anghyfaneddol. *St. Matt.* 24 [15]
21. Ac wedi iddo roi diolch efe a'i torres.	21. Ac a'i bendithiodd ac a'i torrodd. *St. Mark* 14 [22]
22. Ffigyswydd gwylltion.	22. Sycamorwydden. *St. Luke* 19 [4]

BISHOP MORGAN.	BISHOP PARRY.
23. Dy adnabod ti yr unic wir Dduw.	23. Dy adnabod di yr unig wir Dduw. *St. John* 17 [3]
24. Yr adnewyddir pob peth.	24. Hyd amseroedd adferiad pob peth. *Acts* 3 [21]
25. Yn ol hir amser.	25. Ac wedi i dalm o amser fyned heibio. *Acts* 27 [9]
26. Canys y mae synwyr y cnawd yn farwolaeth.	26. Syniad y cnawd marwolaeth yw. *Romans* 8 [6]
27. Ni wn i fy mod yn euog o ddim.	27. Ni wn i ddim arnaf fy hun. 1 *Cor.* 4 [4]
28. Terfysg.	28. Anghydfyddiaethau. 2 *Cor.* 12 [20]
29. Gan ryglyddu bodd ym mhob dim.	29. Gan ddwyn ffrwyth ym mhob gweithred dda. *Col.* 1 [10]
30. Canys byw i mi (yw) Crist, ac elw yw marw.	30. Canys byw i mi yw Crist, a marw sydd elw, *Phil.* 1 [21]
31. Brychau ydynt a tharysclynau.	31. Brychau a meflau ydynt. 2 *Peter* 2 [13]
32. Telynau a chrythau aur.	32. Telynau a phiolau aur. *Rev.* 5 [8]

From these examples it is fairly obvious that all the changes made were not improvements. A noted instance is number (10), where the word *diffaethwch* has been substituted for *morfa*. The English translation is "barren land" (with "salt places" in the margin). Bishop Morgan's word *morfa* certainly embodies that idea, whereas *diffaethwch* may be any desolate place not partaking of that marshy character. And as Dr. Parry inserts *halendir* in the margin, it is very difficult to see why he made the change.

In example (11) he has *ei fwytta* instead of the plural *eu bwytta*, which is obviously required after *pyscod*. This was corrected in 1799 in the S.P.C.K. edition published at Oxford at the instigation of the Rev. Thomas Jones, curate of Creaton.[1]

[1] Ballinger's *Bible in Wales*, p. 20 (Bibliography)

In example (13) Parry's translation is again at fault, for the inference is that more than two malefactors were led with our Lord to their death. The Bible Society corrected this mistake. In the duoglot Testament published by the Clarendon Press in 1826 under the supervision of the Rev. John Jones, M.A. (Ioan Tegid), the verse is more correctly translated: "Ac arweiniwyd gyd âg ef hefyd ddau eraill, drwgweithredwyr, i'w rhoi i'w marwolaeth."

In example (14) the 1620 translation makes the soldier fight with a shield and a *buccula* (bwcled). The *buccula*[1] was really part of the helmet—the beaver or cheek-piece; so that the learned bishop's portrait is that of a soldier clad in armour, but having no weapon of defence, whereas Bishop Morgan arms him with a spear (gwaiw-ffon). It is strange that Dr. John Davies allowed this mistake to pass, for in his Latin-Welsh Dictionary he gives *buccula* = "bochig, anadlfa'r helm, crib yr helm."

In example (15) *ill dau* of the 1588 edition is incorrect. Rebecca is speaking to Jacob, face to face, and the expression *ill dau* is only used of two who are absent. In this instance the 1620 edition is correct.

There is at least one clear instance in which the revisers fell into the fault they sought to avoid—number (32) in the above list. The 1588 version had "telynau a *chrythau* aur," which Bishop Parry changed into "telynau a *phiolau* aur," thinking that Morgan had translated the English *vials* as *crythau*, mistaking it for *viols*. But Bishop Morgan had translated the Greek word φιαλας as *crythau*, which is its correct meaning, for *phiol* and *phial* are but corruptions of *vial*. So Bishop Parry fell into the snare, which he mistakenly thought had caught his predecessor.*

[1] Gweirydd ap Rhys (p. 411) confuses *buccula* with *bucula*, two words which have an entirely different meaning. The latter means a young cow, a heifer; in Cicero it is nsed for the bronze statue of a cow (at Athens, the work of Myron).

* Ballinger remarks of the 1620 Bible: There were many errors; and about 1666, and afterwards about 1672, according to the British Museum Catalogue, either Charles Edwards (the author of *Hanes y Ffydd* . . . . . or R [*sic* George] Griffith, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph), prepared and published

It is admitted by those competent to judge that either of the two Welsh translations (1588 and 1620) of the Scriptures is equal to any, and superior to many that have appeared. Wales' debt of gratitude to those responsible for them can never adequately be expressed. It was a labour of love on their part from beginning to end. Dr. John Davies states that he went back to his heavy task from the lighter ones, which he had to perform in the daily routine of his life as incumbent of a country parish, with increased zest and redoubled energy, which shows how near it lay to his heart. Many generations have enjoyed the fruits of their labour, and their influence upon Wales can never be estimated.

Part of the reward of Bishop Parry and Dr. Davies has been that their work has remained, with slight variations, the standard translation of the Scriptures for three centuries. These variations are not very material. They affect the orthography, sometimes the change in initial mutations, the printing in capitals of many proper names, the division of chapters into paragraphs, and occasional supplementary words. But in the main, all impressions that have since appeared, are but transcripts of the great edition of 1620.[1] It is to Wales what the present Authorised Version of 1611 is to England. But it must be remembered that Bishop Parry's translation deprived Wales of some of the fruit of Bishop Morgan's scholarship. It followed the 1611 English Bible. The greatest tribute to Bishop Morgan is that the improved renderings introduced in the Revised Version of the English Bible are in many cases identical with those in his 1588 Bible, which proves that he had translated directly from the original.

. . . . . .

A further and very important step was taken in the dissemination of the Scriptures in 1630, when there was issued :

a foolscap folio sheet (4 pp.) of errata, entitled *Some Omissions and Mistakes in the British Translation and Edition of the Bible appointed to be had and read in the Churches in Wales, to be supplied and rectified."—The Bible in Wales*, p. 8 (Bibliography).

[1] Llewelyn's *Welsh Versions*, p. 33.

"Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan, sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. . . . . Printiedig yn Llundain, gan Robert Barker, Printiwr i Ardderchoccaf fawrhydi y Brenin; a chan Assignes John Bill. Anno Dom., 1630."

This Bible was popularly known as *Y Bibl Bach*, a name given it by Vicar Prichard in *Canwyll y Cymry*, in the following lines:

"Mae'r bibl bach yn awr yn gysson,
Yn iaith dy fam i'w gael er coron,
Gwerth dy grys cyn bod heb hwnnw,
Mae'n well nâ thre dy dâd i'th gadw."
Quoted from the 1672 edition, p. 8.

It was also known as *Beibl Midltwn*. Mr. Ballinger, in his excellent book, *The Bible in Wales*, states that it is not improbable that the Rev. Robert Llwyd, Vicar of Chirk, Denbighshire, corrected the press for this edition" (p. 9, Bibliography).

Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., states that he has seen two editions of the Scriptures printed in 1630; the title pages are exactly similar, but there are many distinctions up to the end of the fifth sheet, which he enumerates.[1]

This was the first portable Welsh Bible, and the two men most directly responsible for its publication were Sir Rowland Heilyn and Sir Thomas Middleton. (The names are often spelt *Heylin* and *Myddelton*.)

It is hard to realise that the Bible had not yet found its way into Welsh homes. Dr. Llewelyn writes:[2] "There was no provision made for the country, or for the people in general; as if they had nothing to do with the Word of God, at least no further than they might hear it, in their attendance in public worship, once in the week. This is astonishing!"

Astonishing as it is, it can be partly accounted for by the reasons given in the introductory chapter to this work, *viz.*, that there was no printing-press in Wales, and almost insurmountable difficulties stood in the way of the production of so vast a work as this proved to be. It necessitated the presence of some one

[1] *Trans. of Cymmrod. Soc.*, 1897-8, p. 17. [2] *Bible Versions*, p. 36

on the spot to read the proof-sheets. It is well known what obstacles Bishop Morgan had to overcome. The difficulties were far more tangible than many suppose, and it requiries a little effort of the imagination at this date to realise them even remotely. It is matter for deep thankfulness that the great Elizabethan Bishop got his work published when he did, and that Bishop Parry and Rowland Heilyn (the one for the Churches and the other for the people) achieved their respective tasks before the beginning of the Civil War, which might have put back the project for a considerable time.

The Bible of 1630 was much more useful to the country as a whole than the large folio volumes of Morgan and Parry. One writer truly remarks that the advantages of a large folio are not very obvious even in churches. The octavo, on the other hand, can be adapted to most uses, and is at the same time so much cheaper that it comes within the means of most ordinary individuals.

It is to Welsh citizens settled in London that the praise is due for this foresight on behalf of their countrymen. London Welshmen have won the reputation of a high patriotic sense of duty to the land of their birth. So many instances can be recorded in the past, and recalled in the present, of this noble spirit on the part of the Cymry of the Metropolis, that it has become almost second-nature to look to them for help and guidance in the solution of those problems which involve the highest interests of Wales. For the advancement of religion and the spread of education they are, and always have been, ready to extend a helping hand. This was so in the seventeenth century in the notable instance now under consideration. Living amidst the greatest advantages this land can offer, but always mindful of those qualities in their race which would utilise such to the full, if they possessed them, they have often applied their minds to the problem how to bring such advantages, or some part of them, within the reach of their countrymen in the Principality, and it has usually been solved in the same generous way as Sir Rowland

Heilyn and Sir Thomas Middleton solved it in the seventeenth century.—"With a noble concern for the good of their fellow-subjects they procured at their own expense an octavo impression of the Welsh Bible."[1]

Strype, in his *Survey of London*, states that "Mr. Rowland Heilyn, an Alderman of London, sprung from Wales, charitably and nobly, at his own cost and charges, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., caused the Welsh Bible to be printed."[2] He refers, of course, to the 1630 Bible. But Sir Thomas Middleton, also a native of Wales and a Magistrate and Alderman of London, co-operated with Heilyn and shared the burden of expense. About 1500 copies were printed, it is said,[3] but this rests only on a computation made by Thomas Rees and based on the number of parishes.[4] Moses Williams states that the Welsh preface to this Bible "bespeaks the Curator of the Press to be a native of Duffryn Clwyd, at least to have lived a considerable time somewhere in that neighbourhood." (Ballinger's "*Bible in Wales*," p. 28). The implication is that Robert Llwyd, Vicar of Chirk, who was known to be in London at the time, was responsible for this work. The print of the 1630 Bible is rather small. The Prayer Book at the beginning and Pry's Psalms at the end have each a separate title page.

Of those responsible for the financial side of the undertaking,

Rowland Heilyn (?-1637) was a native of Montgomeryshire, of the family of Pentreheilyn.[5] The Heilyns, as the name implies (it means cup-bearer or butler) were hereditary cup-bearers to the Princes of Powys. Rowland Heilyn settled in London and accumulated great wealth, which he freely dispensed in religious charities. Not only did he contribute towards the publication of this edition of the Bible, but also to the *Llwybr Hyffordd* and Dr. Davies' *Dictionary*, for the benefit of his countrymen. Williams in his *Eminent Welshmen* states that he became Sheriff of London.[6]

[1] Llewelyn's *Versions*, p. 38. [2] Vol ii. b. 5, p. 142 (1720 Ed.). [3] Ballinger's *Bible in Wales*, p. 9 (Bibliography). [4] ibid, p. 28. [5] This residence is in the Parish of Llandysilio. [6] See also *Cam. Reg.*, 1795, p. 279.

The Heilyns in older times had been noted for their extravagance of the public money. This gave rise to the saying "Hael Heilyn o gôd y wlad."[1] But Rowland Heilyn's generosity was of a different stamp. His character is summed up by Barnard and Vernon in *Dr. Peter Heilyn's Life* (1663) as "a man of singular goodness." Peter Heilyn was his nephew, and was in high favour with Charles I. and Archbishop Laud.

Sir Thomas Middleton (?-1631), his coadjutor in this good work, was the fourth son of Richard Middleton, of Denbigh. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1613, and was a brother of the great Sir Hugh Middleton and the bard Gwilym Ganoldref. His father, Richard Middleton, had settled in London as a goldsmith, and had amassed a great fortune, with part of which he had founded Chirk Castle, in 1595, as the family estate.[2]

As a sequel to the publication of this crown octavo edition of the Bible, an anonymous book appeared in 1631, entitled *Car-wr y Cymru*. Its object was to exhort the Cymry to make use of the Scriptures now brought within their reach. Amongst its contents is a Welshman's prayer for forgiveness for his neglect of the Scriptures hitherto, a prayer that his heart may be humbled *to keep this law*, Morning and Evening Prayer for family worship, Morning and Evening Prayer to be used on Sundays by the head of the family, a Grace before Meat and after Meat, a letter to the reader by Robert Llwyd, Vicar of Y Waun, and an exhortation in English "To all the Worthy and True-hearted Well-willers and furtherers of the Spiritual weale of Wales who have put their helping hands and hearts to that late, necessary, and worthy worke of Setting forth the Bible in Welsh in a small volume." The book ends with *The Pronunciation of the Letters in the British Tongue*, and *A Comparison of the Letters in Welsh to the Greeke and Hebrew Letters*. By Edward Kyffin. Stephen

[1] *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 278. [2] The Middletons or Miltons, as they are sometimes called, lived previously at Gwaenynog. Sir Thomas Middleton, the son of the above named helper of Rowland Heilyn, took the side of Parliament in the Civil War, but afterwards went over to the King. See Gwallter Mechain's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 434.

Hughes, in 1671, acknowledged the great liberality of Sir Thomas Middleton in the production of the 1630 Bible, in these words :[1] "Y mae y coffadwriaeth o Syr Thomas Middleton am y gwaith hwnnw yn anrhydeddus, ac yn fendigedig yng Nghymru, ac a fydd felly tra fo crefydd Gristionogawl ynddi."

. . . . . .

There was an edition of the New Testament published in 1641, although its existence has often been doubted. Mr. J. H. Davies has, however, cleared all uncertainty on this point. He found a copy in the possession of the Rev. W. Thomas, and gives the full title-page in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1897-8, on page 20, as follows:

> Testament | Newydd | Ein | Harglwydd | A'n | Hiachawdwr | Iesu Grist | Rhuf. i. xvi. | Nid oes arnaf gywilydd o Efengyl Grist | oblegid gallu Duw yw hi er Jechydwriaeth i bob | un ar sydd yn credu | [Engraving of the English Arms with the mottoes, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and "Dieu et mon droit"] | Argraphwyd yn y flwyddyn M.D.CXLI. |
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In 1647 appeared:
>
> "Testament Newydd ein Harglwydd a'n Hiachawdwr Jesu Grist. Rhuf. 1 16. . . . . Printiedig yn Llundain gan Matthew Symmons yn ymyl y llew goreurog yn heol Aldersgat. 1647."

It is rather a stodgy volume with the lines printed right across the page, and not in columns. It was printed at the instance of Vavasor Powell and Walter Cradoc. Brook mentions a Testament procured by the latter "for the use of the common people,"[2] and this is probably the edition to which he refers. There were two issues of the New Testament, both bearing the date 1647 (Ballinger's *Bible in Wales*, p. 30). They agree as to paging and size, but the type differs. They are both very incorrect.

Mr. John Ballinger states that "this edition was the first by and for Nonconformists,"[3] from which it must be inferred that he

[1] Gwallter Mechain's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 435. [2] Brook's *Life of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 386. [3] *The Bible in Wales*, p. 10 (Bibliography).

doubts the existence of the 1643 edition of the New Testament, reputed to be the work of William Wroth and Walter Cradoc.[1] There were 1,000 copies of the 1647 edition printed, and the impression is full of printer's errors.

The next important edition of the whole Bible was published in 1654-56, entitled:

> "Bibl Cyssegr-lan, sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17 [quoted]. Printiedig yn Llundain gan James Flesher, ac a werthir gan Thomas Brewster, tan lun y tri Bibl yn ymmyl Pauls, yn y Flwyddyn 1654."

This was the second edition of the Bible in octavo, and the fourth publication of the whole of the Scriptures in Welsh, and consisted of six thousand copies. The supply of the 1630 Bibles and the 1647 Testaments was now exhausted, and it was possible to guage the number likely to be required to prevent an early shortage. Hence this big venture, for it was a very considerable supply for those days. Dr. Llewelyn, who complains "that we are not informed to whom we are particularly obliged for this supply," was disposed to ascribe it to the temper of the nation and of the times in which it was granted.

As it was published in the first year of the Protectorate, it was commonly called "Cromwell's Bible."[2] There is also a tradition that Cromwell contributed to the cost of publishing it. The Scriptures had now had some time to percolate into the lives of the people, and realising their worth, there was no doubt a steady demand for them. The mottoes of the time were Scriptural, and the temper of the age is also witnessed in its battle cries, its medals, and its incriptions. The name "Cromwell's Bible" may possibly have had something to do with the Cromwellian Commissioners, who had been at work for some time in Wales by this date. It may indicate the interest of these men in securing the edition.

[1] *Llyfr y Cymry*, p. 132. [2] Llewelyn incidentally remarks that Cromwell's ancestors are said to have come from Wales, and were originally named Williams.

Edmund Prys' Psalms, dated 1656, appeared at the end. Stephen Hughes states that the cost of a copy was six shillings.[1]

. . . . . .

Another edition of the New Testament appeared in 1654, entitled:

"Testament Newydd ein Harglwydd a'n Hiachawdwr Jesu Grist. London. Printed by M. S. for John Allen at the Sun-rising in St. Panl's Churchyard. 1654."

Although it is mentioned by Charles Edwards in *Y Ffydd Ddi-Ffuant* (Oxford, 1671), p. 152, no copy of this edition is known to bibliographers. He states that 6,000 copies were printed in small type, and a certain number in larger type, "er mwyn hên bobl, a rhai a fyddent a golugon gwannach." It is said to have contained also a metrical version of the Psalms.

Rowlands' Cambrian Bibliography states that an edition of the whole Scriptures was issued in 1671,[2] and attributes it to Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes, but he has probably confused it with the 1672 edition of the New Testament, which appeared under the title:

"Testament Newydd ein Harglwydd a'n Hiachawdwr Jesu Grist. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Rhuf. I. 16. . . . . Printiedig yn Llundain gan E. Tyler a R. Holt, dros Samuel Gellibrand, tan lûn y Bel (at the Ball) ym Monwent Powls. 1672."

This edition reached to two thousand copies, and was edited by Stephen Hughes, who states that he was assisted by Hugh Edwards, of Llangadoc, Carmarthenshire; David Thomas, of Margam; Samuel Jones, of Brynllywarch, Llangynwyd, Glamorganshire; William Lloyd, of St. Petrox, Pembrokeshire; and possibly Thomas Gouge, although he is not named by Stephen Hughes in his Letter preceding the 1672 edition of *Canwyll y Cymru*, from which the other names are taken. Gouge had, however, started his beneficent work in the Principality in 1671. Gwilym Lleyn must have been misled as to a 1671 edition of the

[1] Preface to 1672 edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 198.

Bible ; no copy of this Bible has yet been found by any bibliographer, and if 6,000 copies had been printed in that year, it is unreasonable to suppose that they were so entirely exhausted by 1677-8 as to necessitate a new edition in so short a time, in addition to the 2,000 New Testaments produced in 1672. This impression of the New Testament is preceded by the Psalms, as in the Prayer Book, and followed by Prys' metrical version.

. . . . . .

The 1677-8 edition was a very important work. Its title ran :

> "Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan, sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. II. Tim. iii. 16, 17. . . . . Printiedig yn Llundain gan John Bill, Christopher Barker, Tho. Newcomb, a Henry Hills, Printwyr i Ardderchoccaf fawrhydi y Brenin : ac a werthir gan John Hancock, tan lûn y tri Bibl yn Popes-Head Alley, yn Cornhill. 1677."

Upon inquiry made in 1674, it was ascertained that not above 20 copies of the 1654 Bible remained on sale in London and not above 32 throughout England and Wales.[1] This occasioned a new octavo edition which appeared in 1677-8, which consisted of a number of copies issued without the Apocrypha and Prayer Book, and a small number of copies without the Apocrypha only. The learned author of *Versions of the Bible* relates that " one thousand of them were immediately given away among the poor, and the rest were reserved and disposed in proper places, to be sold at four shillings per copy bound." The Duke of Bedford, 1613-1700 (William Russell, fifth Earl and first Duke of Bedford), contributed largely to the expense of the thousand free copies. Archbishop Tillotson had given the strongest support to Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes in this great undertaking. Tillotson and Gouge were good friends, and among the works of the former is a "Sermon on the death of Mr. Gouge." The latter had done so much for the dissemination of the Scriptures and other good books in the Welsh tongue that something of the story of his life must be given here.

[1] Dr. Llewelyn's *Versions*, p. 43.

Thomas Gouge (1605-1681) was the son of Dr. William Gouge, Rector of Blackfriars, London. He was born in 1605, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he was elected to a fellowship, which he subsequently exchanged for the living of Colsden, near Croydon. After a short stay there he removed to St. Sepulchre, London, where he laboured strenuously from 1638 to 1662. He was a moderately wealthy, but extremely generous man, and his assistance to the many poor in his parish was proverbial. Some of his means he employed in inducing the ignorant poor to attend his classes held every morning in the church. He supplied work to many who would undertake it, doling out "flax and hemp for them to spin,"[1] and paying them generously. In 1662 he resigned his living because he refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity. London's loss proved a great gain to Wales, where he transferred his educational energy and zeal in 1671. He had been led by reading the life of Joseph Alleine to pursue the same ideal, by devoting his life to the spread of the Gospel in Wales.[2] He held a licence from some of the bishops to preach in Wales.[3] His first visit to this country impressed him with its lack of educational advantages, and the ignorance which prevailed in consequence. He established many schools in different parts, more especially in the towns, and he directed his efforts to secure that the children of the poor should be taught to read and write English and be carefully grounded in religious principles, and that good books should be circulated to counteract vice. In 1674 Gouge's efforts were supplemented by the establishment of a "Welsh Trust"[4] for promoting his work on a larger scale. Under the direction of Gouge and supported by Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, Benjamin Whichcot, Edward Stillingfleet, Richard Baxter, Matthew Poole, Thomas Firmin and many other philanthropists, this Welsh Trust maintained a large number of Charity Schools in North and South Wales. One of its designs was the "printing and buying of

[1] Calamy's *Ejected Ministers*, vol. i. p. 185. [2] *The Bible in Wales*, p. 35.
[3] Calamy's *Ejected Ministers*, p. 186. [4] Article in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (1904-05), p. 81, by the Rev. T. Shankland, M.A.

Welsh books for free distribution among the poor." For this work Gouge enlisted the help of many Welshmen, notably Stephen Hughes, Charles Edwards, Richard Jones, William Jones, David Jones and James Owen. These men translated, edited, and contributed original works of great literary merit for the movement, which the Trust published and freely distributed among the poor. Among them the following may be mentioned as examples: *Holl Ddyledswydd Dyn*, 1672, 2,000 copies; *Testament Newydd*, 1672, 2,000 copies; *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb*, 1675, 2,000 copies; *Hyfforddiadau Christionogol*, 1675, 3,500 copies; *Y Bibl*, 1677-8, 8,000 copies. The educational work and the free distribution of these devotional books in the Welsh language led to the literary revival of this period. Thomas Gouge died in 1681. He had been a great benefactor to Wales, a most benevolent and self-sacrificing man, who gave two-thirds of his income towards charitable and educational objects. After his death, the Trust gradually withdrew its labours from Wales to London, where it ultimately led to the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698-9,[1] so it will be seen that the "Trust" promoted by Gouge was the culminating point of a movement which spread far beyond the confines of Wales.

The 1677-8 edition of the Bible comprised the Book of Common Prayer, the Apocrypha, and the Metrical Version of the Psalms. The Bible itself was printed in 1677, the Prayer Book and Psalms in 1678; and the whole work appeared early in the latter year.

The accuracy of this edition has often been remarked. The 1654 edition ("Cromwell's Bible," as it was called) had been printed very incorrectly. There were instances in which "whole words and parts of sentences had been omitted."[2] To rectify these mistakes and to guard against others, Mr. Stephen Hughes undertook to read the proofs, and performed his task so well that very few blemishes appear. He was an educated Welshman and thoroughly acquainted with the literary language of his nation,

[1] *Manual of Welsh Lit.*, pp. 166-7. [2] Llewelyn's *Versions*, p. 46.

and has deserved well of his country for his unostentatious efforts in this and many other good works. Calamy's verdict has been endorsed by those who are well able to judge that "this edition was well printed and came out very correct."[1]

Stephen Hughes (1622-1688), who did so much for the enlightenment of the Cymry of that age, was born at Carmarthen in 1622. Nothing is known of his early education, but he was a man who possessed considerable literary powers, and, in addition, the more distinctive Cymric characteristic of burning eloquence, and a missionary zeal quite unrivalled amongst his contemporaries. Calamy describes him as "a plain, methodical, affectionate preacher, who insisted much upon the great and substantial things of religion."[2] He was given the benefice of Mydrim in 1654, took possession in 1655, and was deprived in 1660.

He saw the importance of Gouge's movement, and was one of the first to help him, and it shows how well he understood his countrymen when he proceeded to collect Vicar Prichard's poems and to publish them. The complete work, as it left the hands of its first editor, was published under the title *Canwyll y Cymry* in 1681, and will be noticed later, along with the other works which were the fruit of Stephen Hughes' labours. Calamy describes the Bible of 1677-8 as "the best extant edition of the old British Bible."[3] Stephen Hughes died in 1688,[4] some little time before the publication of another edition of the Bible, in which he had been interested.

This appeared in 1689-90 under the title :

"Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan, sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. Printiedig yn Llundain gan Charles Bill, a Thomas Newcomb, Printwyr i Ardderchoccaf Fawrhydi y Brenin a'r Frenhines, 1689."

In twelve years, the eight thousand Bibles of Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes' edition were exhausted, and the book again became scarce and dear, but the latter lived long enough to know

[1] Calamy's *Ejected Ministers*, vol. ii. p. 718. [2] *Nonconformist's Memorial*, iii. p. 498. [3] ibid. [4] Dr. Llewelyn in his *Bible Versions*, p. 48, gives 1687 as the year of his death, but is incorrect.

the fresh need of his countrymen, and to prepare to meet it; so he exerted himself once again, but died, as stated above, in 1688, a year before the edition he had set on foot was printed. The 1690 impression, according to Calamy, consisted of ten thousand copies, and the editor was Mr. David Jones, Llandyssilio,[1] who took great trouble with the work, but failed to maintain the standard of accuracy established by Stephen Hughes. The principal patron of this publication was Lord Wharton, a nobleman who had been very prominent in promoting the Revolution of 1688, who proved a very faithful servant to William III., and was afterwards one of Queen Anne's ministers "in the *glorious* part of her reign."[2]

This was the last public edition of the seventeenth century. David Jones had been assisted in the work by several citizens of London, and many of the nobility had lent their support to the enterprise. This Bible was the fourth octavo impression of the whole of the Scriptures issued since 1630. It is lacking in many respects compared with the 1677-8 edition. Neither print, paper, nor characters are as good as in that impression. Lord Wharton, who did so much to promote it, left a will in which he desired that a certain number of books should be distributed yearly to candidates who complied with his conditions. Dr. Llewelyn erroneously states that it was *Thomas*, Lord Wharton, who left this will, and Gwilym Lleyn has followed him in this. The inscription printed on these presentation Bibles disposes of the mistake. It runs as follows: "Philip, Lord Wharton, died February 4, 1696, aged 83, and by his will left to his Trustees certain estates in Yorkshire, the proceeds of which are to be devoted each year to the distribution of Bibles and other books.

By the terms of the will the 1st, 15th, 25th, 37th, 101st, 113th, and 145th Psalms should be learnt, if possible, by the recipient."

. . . . . .

A new supply of large Bibles for the churches was also issued in 1690. Its title ran:

[1] *Nonconformist's Memorial*, iii. p. 497. [2] Dr. Llewelyn's *Versions*, p. 49.

"Y Beibl Cyssegr-lan, sef, yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd. Rhydychain, Printiedig yn y Theatr yn y flwyddyn MDCXC."

This was the first time for the Scriptures in Welsh to be printed out of London.

The large Church Bibles had been issued seventy years before by Bishop Parry, and must, by this, have been in a very dilapidated state. Bishop William Lloyd, of St. Asaph, was chiefly instrumental in securing the new supply. It was known as *Beibl yr Esgob Lloyd*.[1] The work was supervised by the Rev Pierce Lewis, an Anglesey man, a native of Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd, and an *alumnus* of Jesus College, Oxford, where he was known as the *Welsh Rabbi*.[2]. Richard Morris, brother of the great Lewis Morris o Fôn (patron of Goronwy Owen), states that he saw the proof sheets of this edition in Pierce Lewis' home in Anglesey, and insists that the latter was entirely responsible for the work, in that Bishop Lloyd knew no Welsh.[3] In a letter of Richard Morris', which appeared in the *Greal*, 1805, p. 282, a description of Pierce Lewis' work is given.

Although this Bible was intended to correct many mistakes, especially printers' errors in later copies of the Scriptures in Welsh, it is a most imperfect edition and suffers much from comparison with Bishop Parry's Bible of 1620. It restored the orthography in proper names according to the text of that work. The Mosaical dates appear for the first time on the margins of this edition. This, at least, must be attributed to Bishop Lloyd, for he had written a work on the chronology of the Bible.

It is difficult to ascertain what share, apart from this, Lloyd had in the project. If Richard Morris' contention is correct, it was probably limited to his patronage of the work, owing to his knowledge of the requirements of the churches. And it is not unlikely that he supported it with financial aid. It would hardly

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 248. [2] The rest of his record, as given in the *Alumni Oxon*: is as follows:—Matriculated at Jesus College, Oxon,, 1681, aged 17; B.A., 1684; M.A., 1688; Rector of Llanfachreth, in Anglesey, 1690; Vicar of a moiety of Bangor, 1693; Rector of Llanfairfechan, 1698.
[3] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 248. The bard Edward Morus states otherwise,

have been called "Bishop Lloyd's Bible," if he had not been prominent in some way in its publication.

It became the fashion in later days to minimise the work of English-speaking bishops in their efforts for the Principality. Granted that it was a bad principle to appoint such men, if eminent Welsh-speaking Welshmen could be found (and there is no gainsaying this contention), it is equally wanting in principle to ignore the labours they engaged in after they had been appointed, and to fail to do them the justice they deserve for many efforts on their part to promote not only the highest spiritual interests of the Principality, but also the general welfare of the wider community in which Wales had merged itself, and from which it derived many advantages, even if it had to endure some disadvantages.

Bishop William Lloyd was the son of the Rev. Richard Lloyd, B.D., of Henblas, Anglesey. He was born at Tilehurst in Berkshire, where his father was Vicar, in 1627,[1] and was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, but afterwards proceeded to Jesus College, where he became Scholar and Fellow. Henry Vaughan was a contemporary of his at that College. In 1654 he became Rector of Bradfield in Berkshire, a benefice given him by the Cromwellian Commissioners. In 1660 he was made Prebend of Ripon, and in 1666 Chaplain to Charles II. His first preferment in Wales was to the Archdeaconry of Merioneth in 1668, from which he passed to the Deanery of Bangor in 1672, and the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1680, in which See he succeeded the eminent scholar and writer Isaac Barrow,[2] a man of great intellectual force, who was previously Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and whom Charles II. described as "the best scholar in England."[3] It was while Lloyd was Bishop of St. Asaph that he suffered imprisonment in the Tower along with six other bishops who refused to read James II.'s "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience" in 1688. William III. rewarded him by making him Lord Almoner in 1688,

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 287-8. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*; ii. pp. 1088-1092. [3] Garnett and Gosse, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. iii. p. 122.

and subsequently Bishop of Worcester. He was one of the stoutest opponents of Popery, and in a life crowded with work he found time to publish many pamphlets directed against Rome. Amongst his numerous writings may be mentioned :

"The late Apology in behalf of the Papists, reprinted and answered in behalf of the Royalists. 1667."

"A Seasonable Discourse showing the Necessity of maintaining the Established Religion in opposition to Popery." 1672-3.

"Considerations touching the true way to suppress Popery in this Kingdom."

"An Historical Account of Church Government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland when they first received the Christian Religion," 1684.

He also compiled a "History of the Church of England," which he asked Dr. Gilbert Burnet to write, and furnished him with a curious collection of his own observations. Two of his theological works are: "The Harmony of the Gospel" and "The Chronology of the Bible." He also published several sermons and tracts against Popery. He died at the advanced age of 90, in 1717.

(b) THE EDITIONS OF THE PSALMS AND THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

I. The Editions of the Psalms.

The first edition of the Psalms in metrical form appeared in 1603, under the title :

"Psalmae y Brenhinol Brophvvyd Dafydh, gwedi i cynghanedhu mewn mesurau cymreig. Gann Gapten Wiliam Middelton. Yn nesaf y galhodh at fedhwl yr Yspryd Glân. Simon Stafford a Thomas Salisbury a'i printiodhyn Llunden. 1603."

This book is printed in black letter, and has a letter "To the Reader" by Thomas Salisbury. **Captain Middleton,** or

Myddleton as the name is more often spelt, was the third son of Richard Myddleton, of Galch Hill, Governor of Denbigh Castle, and was a literary man of considerable attainments. He was a great friend of the well known grammarian, Dr. John Dafydd Rhys, to whose *Grammar* he had added an appendix, which contained several fine poems, and who writes of him in glowing terms both as a friend, a soldier, and a bard. He refers to him as "fy hen gyfaill caredig y milwr calonocaf ar fôr ac ar dir, a'r mwyaf cyfarwydd mewn barddoniaeth Gymreig, Gwilym Ganoldref." He had been educated at Oxford, either for the Church or for the Bar, but had chosen the more adventurous career of a soldier, and afterwards joined the Navy and attained the rank of captain. He rendered good service in the war between England and Spain,[1] and was quite a celebrity in his day.

The above named version of the Psalms was his greatest work. He finished it in January, 1595, in the island of Scutum in the West Indies,[2] but it was not printed until after his death, when the work was undertaken by his friend, Thomas Salisbury, in 1603.

A Welsh writer quoted in *Ancient and Modern Denbigh* makes the following observation of William Myddleton's effort, which is described in that work as "an inimitable composition," and "a master piece of Welsh alliteral concatenation:" "Er iddo fod yn mhell o'i wlad enedigol, yr oedd ei serch yn fawr tuag atti, ac er ei fod yn mhlith rhai oedd yn siarad iaith estronol, y Gymraeg oedd iaith ei feddwl."[3]

He had also issued another work in Welsh entitled *Bardhoniaeth neu Brydydhiaeth, y Lhyfr Kyntaf*, in 1593, which was republished in 1710 in the *Flores Poetarum Britannicorum*. He used the same orthography as John Dafydd Rhys.

William Myddleton's Psalms were reprinted at Llanfair-

[1] An episode is related in *Ancient and Modern Denbigh* of his saving the fleet in 1591, by his dogged watchfulness of the Spaniards, keeping in touch with them the whole time, and giving timely warning to the English Admiral, p. 150. [2] The note appended to the book is: "*Apud Scutum insulam Occidentalium Indorum.*" [3] *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 150.

Caereinion, in 1827, with a masterly preface by the Welsh scholar and poet, Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain). But this version of the Psalms never became popular, because the masses could not follow the *cynghanedd*. Something lighter, freer, more flexible, and more lyrical was needed before the psalms could come into general use as spiritual songs in public worship.

Thomas Salisbury, who was responsible for printing the work, was the son of Pierce Salisbury, of Clocaenog, Denbighshire. He had been educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and is stated by Wood to have been full of poetic fancy, and to have practised that art while at the University. His "History of Joseph" in English verse, in 1635, won him distinction, and justifies the praise given him by the recorder of all the Oxford worthies of that time, that he had "a natural geny to poetry and romance . . . . and became a most noted poet of his time."[1] Wood further states that he was an active supporter of the King's cause in the beginning of the Rebellion, in 1642. He died in 1643.

An elegy signed by Edward Kyffin and entitled *Mawl-gerdh farwnad i Gapten William Middleton* precedes the work, and also a poem, by Thomas Price, of Plas Iolyn, entitled *Mawl-gerdh i'r Awdur.*

In the same year (1603) appeared "Rhann o Psalmae Dafydd Brophwyd. I'w canu ar ôl y dôn arferedig yn Eglwys Loegr. Simon Stafford a'i Printiodd yn Llunden dros T.S." 1603.

This metrical version of the Psalms for use in the Services of the Church, was the work of **Edward Kyffin,** and contains but thirteen psalms, together with a Welsh preface by the author.

Edward Kyffin (?-1603) was the son of Richard Kyffin, of Glascoed, Llansilin, and the brother of Maurice Kyffin, the author of the famous work *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, who had himself purposed to bring out a metrical translation of the psalms, but had never found that leisure which he sought for his task. But he probably inspired his brother to undertake it. In Maurice

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 30. See also Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 465-6.

Kyffin's will[1] he mentions Edward Kyffin as "a preacher." Very little is known of the latter, except that he had finished fifty of the psalms in their metrical form, before his death in 1603, but of these only i.-xiii. were ever published, and that by the above-mentioned Thomas Salisbury. Edward Kyffin died of the great plague which visited this country in 1603, of which Vicar Prichard wrote in his *Canwyll y Cymry*.

The merits of his version of the psalms are not great, but when we remember the time and conditions of the work, Kyffin's pioneer attempt to make the Psalms the ballads of the people entitles him to a distinct place in Welsh literature.

This brings us to the third and most famous metrical version of the psalms, which appeared in this century, and which has remained the pre-eminent version up to the present time. It was that published by the celebrated **Archdeacon Edmund Prys** in 1621, under the title:

> "Llyfr y Psalmau. Wedi eu cyfieithu a'i cyfansoddi ar Fesur Cerdd yn Gymraec. Drwy waith Edmwnd Prys, Archdiacon Meirionydd. Ai Printio yn Llundain, 1621."

This edition of the Psalms first came out as part of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer published in 1621.[2]

Edmund Prys (1541-1623-4) was the son of John Prys, of Tyddyn Du, Maentwrog, and was born in 1541, as he himself states in his Latin verses which preface Dr. Davies' *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ*. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in Arts, and afterwards proceeded to Holy Orders. In 1572 he became Rector of Festiniog and Maentwrog, and in 1580 Vicar of Llanddwywe, which living he held in plurality. He was appointed Archdeacon of Merioneth in 1576, a dignity he held for 47 years, and *Canonicus Secundus* of St. Asaph in 1602.

[1] The words are: "I gyve to my brother Edward Kyffin preacher the some of one hundred and thirtie poundes, and all my bookes after my said Cozen Mered'th shall have taken such as he likes best to his owne use," p. 284 of the late Mr. Wm. Prichard Williams' edition of *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 102.

Thus far the Welsh nation had no body of sacred hymns in their own language, which could be sung at public worship. This deficiency was generally felt, and two men, William Myddleton and Edward Kyffin, had already attempted to fill the void, with but small measure of success. There was another, Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug, who also attempted the work a little earlier than the two above-mentioned, but he had only translated twenty-six psalms, and these were fettered by *cynghanedd*. Edmund Prys had the intuition to see wherein the others had failed, and he conceived the task of translating the psalms in the free metres which would be understood by all. The method adopted by the Archdeacon showed what a practical man he was, for, if tradition does not err,[1] as he finished each psalm, he had it taught to his congregation at Maentwrog during the week, in preparation for the following Sunday service in which it was sung. Thus the theory was tested by practice, and it proved so successful that it encouraged Edmund Prys to proceed with his task and complete it.

He employed twelve free metres in his translation, and there are twelve hymn-tunes in his book, which correspond to them. He sets forth his reasons for not using the twenty-four metres of the alliterative system known as *cynghanedd*, as follows: "Tri pheth a wnaeth na chyfieithwyd y Salmau bendigaid ar yr un o'r pedwar mesur ar hugain.

Un yw, am na allwn ryfygu clymu yr Ysgrythyr Santaidd ar fesur cyn gaethed, rhag i mi, wrth geisio cadw y mesurau, golli meddwl yr Yspryd, ac felly pechu yn erbyn Duw, er mwyn boddloni dyn.

Yn ail, y mae Gair Duw i'w ganu mewn cynulleidfa santaidd o lawer ynghyd, i foliannu Duw yn un llais, un enaid, ac un galon; yr hyn a allant wneuthur ar y mesur gwael hwn, ac ni allai ond un ganu *cywydd* neu *awdl*.

Yn drydydd, pob plant, gweinidogion, a phobl annysgedig a

[1] It would explain why he took so long to complete the long-promised task, but one would expect less blemishes in work tested in this way.

ddysgant bennill o garol, lle ni allai ond ysgolhaig ddysgu cywydd neu gerdd gyfarwydd arall.. Ac o achos bod yn berthynol i bob Cristion wybod ewyllys Duw, a'i foliannu ef, mi a ymadewais a'r gelfyddyd, er mwyn bod pawb yn rhwymedig i wario ei dalent at y gorau. Hefyd, nid wyf fi yn cadw mo'r mesur esmwyth hwn yn gywir ymhob man, am nad oes dim yn ein hiaith ni mewn synnwyr i seinio nac i odli â *Duw*. Am hynny, i roddi iddo ef ei ragor a pioedd y gerdd, mi a rois amryw ddiphthongau eraill i gyfateb i'r gair hwnnw, yn nesaf ag y medrwn."

The thoroughness with which he entered into the intricacies of his task is seen from the fact that this metrical translation forms an excellent commentary on many expressions in the psalms which present difficulties.[1] Throughout his translations the style is uniformly good, and it is one of the distinctive merits of the work that Edmund Prys reduced the number of irrelevant words (geiriau llanw) to a minimum. Anyone conversant with the poetry of that age will recognise in this a considerable achievement.

The metre which he mostly employs is 8.7.8.7 with the accent (ictus) on every second syllable. But there are many cases of irregular accent, which some superficial critics have ascribed to the Archdeacon's ignorance. Better acquaintance with his work shows that it was designedly done in order to fit in with the sense of the passage, or for the sake of variety. It has, however, been pointed out with some justice[2] that the emphasis is sometimes awkwardly placed, where, with a slight re-arrangement, it could have been avoided :

e.g. Gwrando arnaf fy Arglwydd byw.

can be better rendered :

O Gwrando arnaf f'Arglwydd byw.

His rule is to rhyme the last syllable of the first and third lines with the strong middle syllable of the second and fourth lines respectively. This rhyming is called the *awdl gyrch*, and is very effective, provided it is not used to the degree of monotony :

[1] See *Gwladgarwr*, Oct., 1836. [2] *Gwaith Gwalltcr Mechain*, i. p. 541.

e.g. Y sawl ni rodia dedwydd *yw*
Yn ol drwg yst*ryw* gyngor.—i. 1.

A variant, which the Archdeacon often uses, is to make the last word in the first line alliterate with the strong accented word in the next line :

e.g. Duw a fforddia ac a *hoffa*
Hy-ffordd y gwr calonog.—xxxvii. 23.

And a further variant is to employ the disguised or concealed *awdl* (rhyme) :

e.g. Clyw, Arglwydd fi, herwydd o'th *flaen*
Yn hollawl *mae'n* nymuniad.—xxxviii. 9.

His manipulation of these variants, without sacrificing in any degree the full and clear meaning of the original, shows not only that he was an illustrious bard, but also that he understood how to apply the knowledge of the original languages which he had acquired, to the genius of his own native tongue. His strong epithets are *really* strong, and he always succeeds in presenting a vivid picture to the mind. In a couple of words he often paints a complete picture, and his language is commensurate in strength with the idea he portrays : *e.g.*, note the contrast between storm and calm in the following expressions : *môr cynhyrfdon, môr tonlefn ; afon ffrydchwyrn, afonydd dyfrgrych.*. In *môr cynhyrfdon* we are reminded of Goronwy Owain's "rhyferthwy don," and the sea in a wild tumult of waves presents itself to our vision. Both these bards were masters of concise and vivid expression. Edmund Prys has also many of the Dafydd ab Gwilym touches, and he was, no doubt, steeped in the works of Wales' premier poet. That something of the latter is reflected in Edmund Prys will be seen, for instance, by a comparison of D. ab Gwilym's *Cywydd y Daran* with the following lines :

Dy daran modd fry'n y nen,
Dy fellt gwnaent wybren olau ;
Y ddaear isod a gyffrodd,
Ac a ddychrynodd hithau.—Ps. lxxvii. 16.

In some of the Archdeacon's lines there is a strident majesty which well befits his theme :

e.g. Pan ddigiodd Duw, daeth daiar-gryn,
A sail pob bryn a siglodd ;
A chyffro drwy'r wlad ar ei hyd,
A'r holl fyd a gynhyrfodd.—Ps. xviii. 8.

In others he succeeds in intensifying the original :

e.g. Duw, tor eu dannedd yn eu safn,
Diwreiddia'r llafn o dafod ;
Duw, dryllia'r bonau, a gwna'n don .
Bob grudd i'r c'nawon llewod.—lviii. 6.

No one understood the genius of the language better than Edmund Prys, and his further poems, which must be deferred for consideration under the chapter dealing with the poetry of the seventeenth century, furnish ample testimony in support of this statement, in addition to what has already been remarked.

It must not be forgotten that he had his share in the great work of translating the 1588 Bible, and Bishop Morgan in his preface expresses his obligation to him in the warmest terms. What part he took in that work is not known.

The esteem in which he was held by the *literati* of his day can be appreciated from the fact that Dr. John Davies, who lived not more than a day's ride from him, in the parish of Mallwyd, over the hills beyond Bwlch Oerddrws, dedicated his *Grammar* to the Archdeacon. Edmund Prys wrote some elegant Latin verses in commendation of that work, which appeared in 1621, the same year as his own *magnum opus*. In them he mentions that he was eighty years of age, and this is one of the two bits of evidence we have in support of 1541 as the year of his birth, but it is fairly conclusive.[1] These verses bear the impress of an intellect that was still virile and clear. There is no vestige of that decrepitude which one would not be surprised to find in the work of an octogenarian.

Edmund Prys died in 1623-4, and was buried in the chancel of Maentwrog Church, where a grave was discovered, when the church was being restored through the unstinted beneficence of the late W. E. Oakeley, Esquire, of Plas Tan-y-Bwlch, in 1896, but no trace of any remains was found. The parishioners have put up a beautiful stained-glass window on the west side of the church in the Archdeacon's memory. It has three lights,

[1] The other evidence is contained in a MS. in the library at Plas Tan-y-bwlch, Merionethshire.

and depicts on the right hand light, the Archdeacon in canonicals holding a scroll in his left hand and turning in rapt attention to listen to the strains of David's harp. The sweet singer of Israel occupies the middle light, his hands sweeping the strings of his instrument. On the left light is St. Twrog, also a rapt listener, holding in his right hand a scroll, whilst his left is placed upon Twrog's stone, which is reputed to have been that saint's first pulpit.

The different editions of Edmund Prys' Psalms which appeared in the seventeenth century are given below. They were usually added as an appendix to Bibles and Prayer Books, but that of 1648 was a separate edition.

1. The original edition of 1621, which formed part of the *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* issued in that year. The music of twelve tunes is also printed. The title page is as follows: Llyfr y Psalmau Wedi eu cyfieithu, a'i cyfansoddi ar fesur cerdd, yn Gymraeg. Drwy waith Edmwnd Prys Archdiacon Meirionydd, A'i Printio yn Llundain. 1621. *Bonham Norton and John Bill: London. 1621.*
2. The 1630 edition, bound at the end of the 1630 Bible (the octavo volume of Rowland Heilyn and Thomas Middleton).
3. The 1638 edition, bound at the end of the Book of Common Prayer of 1634. Gwilym Lleyn has erred in calling this the 1628 edition,[1] and has been followed by Glan Menai.[2] Apparently, the metrical version of the Psalms had not been bound with the 1634 Prayer Book at its first appearance. It has a separate title page and is dated 1638.
4. The 1648 edition, which is the first edition found of the work by itself, neither bound with the Prayer Book or the Bible, nor designed to be bound with them. It is a duodecimo edition, and a very handsome little volume.

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 104. [2] *Edmwnd Prys*, p. 129. Glan Menai also mentions a 1664 edition attached to the Prayer Book of that date. But it is not found in the complete copy of that book in the University College Library at Bangor, and, no doubt, the statement is inaccurate.

5. The 1656 edition, bound with the 1654 Bible, printed by James Flesher.
6. The 1672 edition, bound with the New Testament, issued by Stephen Hughes in that year. Printed by E. Tyler and R. Holt.
7. The 1678 edition, bound with the 1677-8 edition of the Welsh Bible. The title page of the Psalms bears the date 1678, as also that of the New Testament.
8. The 1687 edition, printed with Thomas Jones' Prayer Book. Caerludd.
9. The 1690 edition, printed with the 1689-90 Bible, produced by David Jones of Llandyssilio, Carmarthenshire.
10. The 1700 edition, bound with the *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin*, which appeared in that year.

(b) II. The Book of Common Prayer.

Most of the Welsh editions of the Book of Common Prayer published in this century contain, as we have noticed, the Psalms of Edmund Prys, as an appendix. These psalms are usually preceded by a metrical version of the *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Cân Mair Forwyn*, and *Cân Simeon a'r Iesu yn ei freichiau* (two different renderings). It must also be clearly understood that the Prayer Book proper contains the version of the Psalms which appeared in the 1620 Bible, usually entitled "Psalmau Dafydd o'r un cyfieithiad a'r Bibl cyffredin."

The first edition of the *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* which appeared in this century was that of 1621. The editors were Edmund Prys and Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd. We have no knowledge how the work was apportioned between them, but it is thought that the latter was responsible for the Catechism. He makes mention of this in a letter to Mr. Owen Wynn of Gwydyr, dated January, 1627.[1]

The prayer book was also incorporated with the 1630 Bible, and its title-page read: "Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin, a gweinidogaeth

[1] *Lyfr. y Cymry*, p. 102.

Y Sacramentau : A Chynneddfau a Ceremoniau eraill yn Eglwys Loegr. Printiedig yn Llundain gan Robert Barker Printiwr i Ardderchoccaf fawrhydi y Brenin : a chan Assignes Iohn Bill. Anno. Dom. 1630." The Epistles and Gospels are not reprinted in this Prayer Book, inasmuch as it was prefixed to the Bible. But under each Collect are given the passages fixed for that day, and in the New Testament they are marked with [ ] at the beginning and end, and in the margins by a ⌐ for the beginning of the passage and a ¬ for the end.

The next edition of the Prayer Book appeared in 1634, with the same title-page as above, except that *gweinidogaeth* is misprinted *gwenidogaeth*, *Sacramentau — Scarmenatau*, and, " Printiwyd yn llundain gan Assignes Iohn Bill ag i'w gwerthu gida Robert Milborne yn sin y milgi yn mynwent Paul. 1634." Edmund Prys' Psalms are appended, dated 1638. It is a small quarto edition printed in Black Letter, with the rubrics, as they should be, in red. It is preceded by a Calendar, and its orthography in many parts is reminiscent of William Salesbury. For instance, such forms occur as *Camberaec*, *Boreuawl*, *Y Letani*, *Dydd Natalic*, *Y Croc-lith*, *Dydd Iou Dyrchafael*, *Y Commun*, *Bedydd priuat*, *Comminasion*, *ewyllysio-on*, *râd* invariably for *gras*. *Oll-alluog* for Hollalluog. The following Collect for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany will serve as a fair example of the difference between the early editions of the 17th century and our modern version :

" Duw yr hwn a wyddost ein bod ni wedi ein gosod mewn cymmaint a chynnifer o beryglon ac nas gallwn o herwydd gwendid dynol sefyll bob amser yn uniawn : caniadha i ni iechyd enaid a chorph, fel y bo am yr holl bethau ydd ŷm ni yn eu dioddef am bechod, allu o honom drwy dy borth di eu gorfod a'u gorchfygu, trwy Grist ein Harglwydd. Amen."

The next edition appeared in 1664, with the following title-page :

" Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin a Gweinidogaeth y Sacramentau, a Chynneddfau a Ceremoniau eraill yr Eglwys, yn ol arfer

Eglwys *Loegr* ynghyd a'r Psallwyr neu Psalmau Dafydd. A Brintiwyd yn Llundain, gan S. Dover, tros Edward Ffowks a Phetr Bodvel. MDCLXIV."

This book was meant for the Prayer Desks of churches. It was too large and unwieldy to be carried about by the worshippers. It is quite certain that it did not contain Edmund Prys' metrical version of the psalms.

Another edition of the Prayer Book was bound with the 1677-78 Bible. The title was the same as the last mentioned up to the words *Eglwys Loegr*, after which are added *Printiedig yn Llundain gan John Bill, Christopher Barker, Thomas Newcomb, a Henry Hills*, 1678.

The peculiarity of this edition is that it contained for the first time in Welsh, services for the *Gunpowder Plot* (Brad y Powdr Gwnn), *The Martyrdom of King Charles I.* (Brenin Charles y Merthyr), and *The Restoration of King Charles II.*, the last named under the title *Natalic Mawrhydi y Brenin.* This Prayer-book appeared in front of the 1677-78 Bible. At the end of the Prayer-book and immediately before the Bible appeared the following Proclamation from Charles II. as to the three new Services:

Charles R.

Ein hewyllys a'n pleser yw, i'r Tair Trefn Gweddi a Gweinidogaeth hyn a wnaed i'r Pummed o Dachwedd, y Ddegfed ar hugain o Ionawr, a'r Nawfed ar hugain o Fai, fod allan o law yn Breintiedig ac yn gyhoeddedic; ac o hyn allan i'w gyd-gynnwys gyda Llyfr y Weddi Gyffredin a Liturgi Eglwys Loegr, i'w harfer bob blwyddyn ar y dywededic ddyddiau, mewn pob Cadeiriawl a Cholegawl Eglwys a Chapel ac Awl[1] o fewn ein dwy Unifersiti, ac o'n Colegau o Eaton a Chaer-wynt, ac mewn pob Eglwys a Chapel Plwyfawl o fewn ein teyrnas, Arglwyddiaeth Gymry, a Thre Berwic ar Tweed.

Rhoddwyd yn Ein Llys yn y Neuadd-wenn yr ail dydd o Fai yn y Bedwaredd Flwyddyn ar ddeg o'n Gwladychiad.

Trwy orchymyn ei Fawrhydi,

[1] Hall. EDW. NICHOLAS.

In 1683 an Oxford edition of the Prayer Book was issued. It was modelled on Gouge's edition (1677-78, above). Copies of this are very scarce, but the writer has seen one which is in the possession of the Rev. T. Shankland, of the University College Library, Bangor. Bishop Humphreys, of Hereford, states in a letter dated 28 November, 1706, "that the 8vo Edition printed at Oxford. A.D. 1683, is the fittest pattern for the Composer," *i.e.*, of the new Prayer Book, which was then under contemplation. This letter of Bishop Humphreys in reference to the new edition, which was being discussed in 1706, is so instructive that the minutes in which it is mentioned deserve recording below:

"28 November, 1706. Part of a Letter from the Lord Bp. of Hereford [Humphreys] to the Ld. Bishop of Landaffe was read, dated Whitbourn, Nov. 15 instant, concerning a New Edition of the Common Prayer in Welsh, of which there have been some Advertisements inserted in the Public Papers. Herein his Lordship shews, that as the Folio Edition is very faulty; so those 2 editions of Tho. Jones, are neither of them correct. And adds that the 8vo Edition printed at Oxford A.D. 1683 is the fittest pattern for the Composer. For the Singing Psalms, his Lordship recommends those in the old 8vo Bible Printed at the Charge of Midleton & Heylyn, in the beginning of the Reign of King Charles I.; or with a 4to Common Prayer in the black English Letter, being the Church Volume before the Rebellion; or those bound with the Octavo Bible printed at London, A.D. 1677. But by all means to have a care of those printed by Tho. Jones. Lastly his Lordship says that if he had the Oxford Edition above-mentioned he would correct the Erratas found in it. This letter was referred to the Standing Committee, and Mr. Fox was desired to procure the Oxford Edition printed as aforesaid."

. . . . . .

"12 Dec., 1706. Mr. Fox reported that Mr. Whitledge had assured him that the Welsh Common Prayer which he intends to reprint, is that in 8vo by the late Mr. Gouge, (whose edition as he thinks, was the pattern for that printed in Oxford); that he

will take care to gett the Edition printed at Oxon: that Mr. Chancellor Wynne of St. Asaph has promised to fitt the work for the press, & a Clergyman is to come on purpose from Wales to correct the sheets. The Secretary was order'd to certify the Ld. Bp. of Hereford of this."[1]

The folio edition referred to as "very faulty" is that of 1664. The "2 editions of Tho. Jones" are those which shall be presently mentioned. The "old 8vo Bible" is that which appeared in 1630. The "4to Common Prayer in the black English Letter" is that of 1634. The "8vo by the late Mr. Gouge" is the Prayer Book of 1677-78, which is mentioned as the model on which the highly-approved 1683 Oxford Edition was based.

The first of Thomas Jones' editions appeared dated 1687, and was printed in London.

"Argraphwyd yng Haerlûdd dros Thomas Jones. 1687. Ag ar werth drosto ef

Gan { Mr. Charles Beard, Tan Lûn y Tri Adar Duon a'r forforwyn yn Watling Street. / A Mr. John Marsh, Tan Lûn y Llew Côch yn Cateaton-Street. } yn Llundain."

The year of its actual publication was 1688. It is a small book, and has affixed to it, for the first time in Welsh, the Thirty-nine Articles, under the title:

"Y namyn un deugain Erthyglau Crefydd Eglwys Loegr, neu Sylwedd Ffydd y Protestaniaid drwy gyttuniad yr Archesgobion, a'r Esgobion o'r ddwy Brew; a'r hôll wŷr Llen, (ar eu Cymmanfa yng *Haerludd*, yn y bummed flwŷddŷn o Deŷrnasiad y frenhines *Elizabeth*, yr hon oedd y flwŷddŷn o oed Jesu, 1562) er ymwared oddiwrth amrŷw draws amcan grefŷddau, ac i wastadlu bodlonrhwŷdd a chyttundeb ynghŷlch gwîr Grefŷdd.

Argraphwŷd yn fynuch yn saesonaeg, drwŷ Orchymmŷn y

[1] Copied from *Seren Gomer*, Ionawr, 1904, Rhif 1., Cyf. xxv., p. 15, from an article by the Rev. T. Shankland, M.A., on *Diwygwyr Cymru*.

Brenhinoedd. Ar pryd ymma yn Gymraeg, o Gyfieuthad *Thomas Jones*, 1688.

Ar werth Gan Thomas Jones, a chan y rhai eraill a wertho ei Lyfrau ef."

"Imprimatur, Articuli Ecclesiae Anglicanae in Linguam Brittanicam Conversi. Hn Maurice R^ms^ in Christo P.D. Wilhelmo Archiepiscopo. Cant. a Sacris. Feb. 16, 1687."[1]

According to Moses Williams,[2] Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, had translated the Articles long years before, and they were printed separately in 1664. It is strange that the three editions of the Prayer Book, which had been issued since that date, should have appeared without them.

The second edition of Thomas Jones', to which Bishop Humphreys refers, was that published in 1700. Both of his editions had Edmund Prys' Metrical Psalms appended. The orthography of both is such that, were they otherwise faultless, they well merit the strictures put upon them by the Bishop of Hereford in the warning he gave, "by all means to have a care of those printed by Thomas Jones."

(c) OTHER WORKS, RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Wales was more enlightened and had better educational facilities than is generally supposed.

John Edwards (Sion Treredyn) who was the translator of the "Marrow of Modern Divinity," states that the clergy of that time were learned men, and his statement is amply supported by the able article of the late Mr. Ivor James in the pages of the *Traethodydd* (1886), on the evidence he had obtained by examining the records of the two Universities. In a space of fifty years, he tells us, Wales had produced not less than a hundred and fifty men who became Doctors of Divinity, or attained Fellowships. This does not exhaust the list of able men, for outside the ranks

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry* has, on p. 245, no doubt owing to a printer's error, wrongly given this date as 1667. [2] *Cofrhestr*, rhif 5.

of Doctors and Fellows were such men as Vicar Prichard, Archdeacon Edmund Prys, and many more. It was no uncommon thing for Welshmen to be raised to the episcopal bench, both in their own country and outside its borders. The same writer draws attention to the high standard of learning and culture amongst the gentry of Wales. He quotes the author of *Gemitus Ecclesiae*, who states: "Mae y boneddigion yn wŷr o wybodaeth, crefydd, a dygiad i fyny, y rhan fwyaf o honynt wedi cael eu haddysg yn ysgolion a phrifysgolion goreu y wlad hon." The population of Wales, at the time, could hardly have exceeded a quarter of a million, and it is interesting to note that Mr. James states that there were more Grammar Schools, *Ysgolion Canol-raddol* he calls them, for the sake of emphasising his point, in the first half of the century in Wales than existed at the time he penned his article. Moreover, these schools were planted in populous centres; were, as far as possible, free and open to the poorest; and must have been efficient, judging from the men they produced, who reached the highest offices in Church and State.

The masses availed themselves of the private schools, as the author of *Gemitus Ecclesiae* informs us: "Ac mae y bobl yn gyffredin yn gofalu am ddwyn eu plant i fyny mewn ysgolion preifat."[1] Many of these schools were kept by the clergy. It was mentioned, for instance, in a previous page, how Jeremy Taylor was invited to take charge of a school at Golden Grove. Dr. David Lloyd, at Ruthin, is another example. And there are instances found in the *Alumni Oxonienses* where it forms part of the record of a Welsh clergyman, "that he also kept school there." There was not that entire neglect of education which some have supposed. The great men of the first half of the century were numerous, and it is significant that many of them on their entry to the Universities were styled "plebeians." One is not forgetting the considerable number of Welshmen who went to English public schools, but it is necessary to account for the large number

[1] *Y Traethodydd*, 1886, p. 287.

who had not that advantage, but who, nevertheless, proceeded to the Universities and attained distinction. All this applies to the first half of the seventeenth century. But there came a change. When Thomas Gouge came to Wales in 1671-2, he found the great bulk of the people ignorant, and unable to read or write. We find the explanation for the change in the Civil Wars, the effect of which, in brief, was to sweep away the clergy and the gentry, who, a generation earlier, had been the promoters of education. Both these classes were Royalist, and suffered accordingly. The majority of the gentry either fell in battle, or had their estates confiscated. "The Act for the Propagation of the Gospel" explains the disappearance of most of the clergy. As far as can be ascertained, no episcopal ordination took place in Wales between 1642 and 1660.[1] By 1653, 416 clergy, graduates of the Universities, had been dispossessed,[2] and their place taken by 150 preachers, itinerant and otherwise. When it is borne in mind that the number of Welsh parishes was nearly a thousand, and that of the above 150 comparatively few were learned men, as Calamy bears witness, for in the list of ministers ejected at the Restoration, he is only able to muster eight who were graduates. and has to admit that many of them were weavers, ploughmen, skinners, husbandmen,[3] &c., it is not surprising that the education of the country should have suffered. Vavasor Powell states[4] that 24 out of 32 nominees to livings by the Commissioners in N. Wales were University men. This is in direct variance with Calamy's list of ejected ministers, or it proves that comparatively few were disturbed at the Restoration. If Wales was so steeped in ignorance, the Commonwealth policy, in its immediate effect, did not tend to decrease it. Ignorance there undoubtedly was in Wales as elsewhere. Our present task is to deal with the writings of a body of men who realised this, and

[1] *Y Traethodydd*, p. 300. [2] ibid, p. 285. This number includes those ejected under the "Act," and those whose livings had been sequestered before it came into operation in 1650. [3] Calamy's *Noncon. Memor.*, iii. pp. 477-528. [4] Cymdeithas Llen Cymru's "*Act for the Propagation, &c.*," Cardiff, 1908, p. 5.

who tried by most unselfish and untiring efforts to dispel the darkness through the enlightening influences of religion and education.

Before their works are recorded, however, it is necessary to notice a few religious writings which appeared in the first half of the century.

In 1600 was published "Darmerth, neu Arlwy Gweddi, a ddychymygwyd er mawr dderchafiad Duwioldeb, ac i chwanegu Gwybodaeth ac Awydd yr annysgedig ewyllysgar i iawn wasanaethu'r gwir Dduw. Gan Robert Holland, gweinidog gair Duw, a Pherson Llanddeferowg, yn Sir Gaerfyrddin." Oxford, 4to.

Robert Holland was a graduate of Magdalen College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. in 1577-8 and M.A. in 1581.[1] He afterwards became Rector of Prendergast, in Pembrokeshire. He was the author of a work published in 1594, entitled, *The Holie Historie of our Lord and Saviour*, which is a work of excessive rarity, and has been erroneously ascribed to Henry Holland. He dedicated this work "to the right worshipful Mistres Ann Philips of Picton," and on its title-page describes himself as "Minister of the Church of Prendergast." It is a poetical work relating "Jesus Christ's nativitie, life, actes, miracles, doctrine, death, passion, resurrection, and ascension. Gathered into English meeter, and published to withdraw vaine wits from all unsaverie and wicked rimes and fables, to some love and liking of spirituall songs and holy Scriptures." He also produced other works in Welsh, the best known of which is that entitled "Dau Gymro yn taring yn Bèll o'u Gwlad," which was printed by Stephen Hughes with "Canwyll y Cymru" in the 1681 edition of that work. He translated a work of William Perkins (1558-1602) which is considered one of the best books in the language on the Lord's Prayer. Robert Holland entitled it "Agoriad byrr ar Weddi'r Arglwydd," and a second edition of it appeared as late as 1677, published through the efforts of Stephen Hughes. The author of the original, William Perkins, was a Warwickshire man, who was educated at Cambridge and afterwards had charge of

[1] *Ath*: *Cantab*: (Cooper), vol. ii. p. 174.

St. Andrew's Church in that city. His puritanism, however, brought him into collision with the authorities, and he was obliged to retire. He was a ready writer, and some of his works were translated into French and Spanish, besides this into Welsh.

In 1607, "Yr Athrawiaeth am Weddi. Gan John Prideaux, Esgob Caerwrangon," was published. It is not clear who translated this work of Bishop Prideaux.[1] It has been ascribed to Rowland Vaughan, but there is no evidence to support it, although the editor of the 1715 edition, which appeared under the title "Euchologia, neu yr Athrawiaeth o arferol Weddi," attributed it to him.[2]

At least nine Welsh books were published by Roman Catholic writers on the Continent between 1567 and 1670, two of which were printed at Milan, three at Paris, one at Rouen, two at Liége, and one, probably, at St. Omer. The well-known Welsh Grammar, entitled *Dosparth Byrr*, by Dr. Gruffydd Roberts, had appeared in 1567, published at Milan; *Athrawiaeth Gristnogavl*, in the same year, also printed at Milan; and *Y Drych Cristnogavl*, in 1585, the work of Dr. Roger Smyth, printed at Rouen.[3]

Dr. Roger Smyth (1546-1625), who was a native of St. Asaph, and was educated on the Continent, at the University of Douay and at the English College, at Rome, was one of the Roman Catholic writers who contributed to Welsh literature in this century and in the latter part of the sixteenth. He is mentioned as being at Rome in 1579,[4] and in 1582 he had come to Rouen to the order of Bridgettine nuns, formerly of Sion, in England, and remained with them until their removal to Lisbon in 1594. In 1595 he crossed over to England, but was caught and thrown into Newgate Prison, whence he escaped, it is thought by bribery.[5] In 1596 he was again in Paris, where he and others

[1] John Prideaux (1578-1650) was a distinguished Oxford scholar, who became Rector of Exeter College and King's Professor of Divinity. In 1641 he was raised to the bishopric of Worcester. The book here translated was his "Euchologia, or Doctrine of Practical Prayer." *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii. pp. 130-131. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 305. [3] *Cymmrodor. Trans.*, 1897-8, p. 10. [4] Owen's *Running Register*, p. 19 [5] *Cymmrodor. Trans.*, 1901-04, pp. 109-114.

attempted to establish an English College for the education of priests, in 1598, which project, however, did not succeed. He remained in Paris until his death, in 1625, and during his stay there, he produced, in 1609, a work entitled "Crynodeb o Addysc Cristnogavl, a Dosparth Catholic ar ddeuddeg pvnc y Phydd a elvir yn Gredo, hefyd ar vveddi yr Arglvydd, sef y Pader ar Gyfarchiad yr Angel, a elvvir Ave Maria, yn ddivveddaf ar y Deg gair Deddf a elvvir y deg gorchymyn. Gvvedi i gyfieithu o'r Lladin i'r Gymeraeg, drvvy ddyfal astudiaeth a llafur D[octor] Rosier Smith o dref Llan Elvvy, Athraw o Theologyddiaeth, megis ymddiddan ne ddialogyddiaeth rhvvng y discibil a'r athravv." Paris, 1609.

Mr J. H. Davies states that a good copy of this work exists at Sherburn.[1]

It was, as the author mentions in the title-page, a translation from the Latin, and was published afterwards in an enlarged form under the title "*Opus Catechisticum D. Petri Canisii, Theologi Ex Societate Jesu*, sef yw: *Svm ne grynodebo adysc Gristnogavl, a dosparth Catholic, ar holl bvnciau'r Phydd.*"

A copy of this is to be found in the British Museum. It was a compendium of religious doctrine by a learned Jesuit. In it Smyth follows the orthography of Dr. Gruffydd Roberts. Two subsequent editions of the work appeared, one in 1657, and another in 1683. (See *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* under those dates).

Another work translated by Dr. Smyth was published in Paris in 1615, and entitled: "Theater Du Mond sef iw Gorsedd y Byd lle i gellir gweled trueni a Llaseni Dyn o ran y Corph ai Odidawgrwydd o ran yr Enaid; a Scrifenwyd gynt yn y Ffrangaeg, ag a gyfieithwyd ir Gymraeg drwy lafur Rosier Smyth o Dref Lan Elwy Athraw o Theologyddiaeth. Psalm 48." [This should be Ps. 49, the last verse of which is quoted in Latin and Welsh.]

The orthography of Dr. Gruffydd Roberts is not used in this book, which is a translation from the French of Peter Boaystuan.[2]

The above book was translated into English twenty-eight

[1] *Cymmrodor Trans*: 1897-8 p. 10. [2] ibid, p. 12.

years afterwards, and also into Spanish. All Roger Smyth's printed works were translations, and were religious works, written from a Roman Catholic standpoint, and translated into Welsh in the hope of impressing his fellow-countrymen. Considering that he spent most of his time abroad, he wrote good, vigorous Welsh. When he translated any passages from the poetical books of the Bible, he did so in verse, *e.g.*, Job x. 9, "Cofia, attolwg, mai fel clai y gwnaethost fi; ac a ddygi di fi i'r pridd drachefn?" is thus versified:

> Cofia arglvydd fal im gvnaethost yn vanddyn
> Fal y llestrvr y lestro'r pryddyn
> Yr hvn all i ddinistrio ai droi yn lludv
> A chofia fal i'm phyrfiaist o'run ddelv [1]

As his books were printed in Paris, and there is no *w* in the French alphabet, he had to resort to the use of two *v*'s as a substitute for that letter.

In the "Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws" occurs a list of Englishmen who matriculated at Douay before 1621, in which Roger Smyth's name is found amongst the *Angli pauperes*. He is there styled *Rogerius Smithe* (vol. i., p. 277). He was also a signatory to "The Copye of a supplication made for poor Syon," where his name is placed first—*Doctor Smythy* (p. 362 of the same work). This was copied from a Document in the Public Record Office, London, *Dom. Eliz. vol.* 146 n 114.

Roger Smyth was never ordained priest in the Church of Rome.[2]

A difference arose between him and Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, which is mentioned in a letter written by an English spy to Cecil in Oct., 1601, as follows: "Dr. Roger Smith, about 55, of no great reach, not fit to be employed in matters of State, as Parsons confesseth, because he could not keep Parsons' counsels in certain causes which he imparted to him."[3] It is conjectured that Parsons may have been angry with Smyth for his republican and nationalist views, for he neither favoured Philip of Spain in

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 90. [2] *Trans. of Cymmrod. Soc.* 1901-04, p. 113.
[3] ibid, p. 114.

his attempts to gain the English crown, nor the accession of James of Scotland. In fact, he was anti-Spanish and anti-English. "What he really wanted was a republican system which would give to Wales a full measure of internal independence,"[1] very similar to that enjoyed by the Italian states.

Lewis Owen, in the *Running Register*, which was published in 1626, states that Smyth "died last year in Paris," which gives 1625 as the year of his death, in his 79th year.

Another Roman Catholic writer of distinction was **Father John Salisbury** (1572-1625), a native of Merionethshire, and probably a son of the Rug branch of the Salisbury family.[2] He was educated at the Jesuits' College of St. Alban's, Valladolid, Spain, which he entered on June 22nd, 1595. He was ordained priest on Nov. 21st, 1600, sent to England in 1603, and in 1605 he entered the Society of Jesus as a "missioner" in North Wales. In 1615 he became the Superior of North and South Wales District, taking up his residence at Raglan Castle. In 1622 he became Superior of the College of St. Francis Xavier, which he had founded. He was appointed Procurator of the English Province to Rome, but he died while preparing for his journey thither in 1625. He translated and published in 1618 a work entitled "*Eglurhad Helaeth-lawn o'r Athrawiaeth Gristnogawl.* A gyfansodhwyd y tro cyntaf yn Italaeg trwy waith yr Ardherchoccaf a'r Hybarchaf Gardinal Bellarmin." This was a Catechism on Christian Doctrine, and the translation is written in good idiomatic Welsh. The work was printed at the press of St. Omer's College, France. Salisbury is said to have composed other devotional works, but they were not published.

A copy of *Eglurhad Helaeth-lawn* exists at the British Museum.

Two other Roman Catholic works in Welsh, published in this century are *Drych Cydwybod*, printed at Liège, in 1661[3]; and *Allwydd Paradwys*, printed at Liège in 1670. A copy of this is

[1] *Trans. of Cymmrod. Soc.*, 1901-04, p. 114. [2] *D.N.B.* [3] This date is taken from Moses Williams' *Cofrestr.*

also to be found at the British Museum. The former is an instruction on *Confession;* the latter a book of Prayers, Devotions, Counsels, and religious Doctrine, collected from various devotional books. The Welsh and Latin appear in parallel columns, and the author I. H. is identified as Father John Hughes (or John Hugh Owen, as he was previously known), a native of Anglesey, who, as might be expected, wrote good idiomatic Welsh, as did John Salisbury. This was that same Father John Hughes (1615-1686), who published in 1684, two years before his death, Hugh Owen's translation of the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas á Kempis, which will be considered later.

A writer who has received well-deserved praise for the purity and flexibility of his language is **Edward James,** the translator of the Book of Homilies. He published the work, which is generally known as *Llyfr yr Homiliau*, in 1606. Its full title reads:

> "Pregethau a osodwyd allan trwy awdurdod, i'w darllein ymhob Eglwys blwyf a phob capel er adailadaeth i'r bobl annyscedig. Gwedi eu troi i'r iaith Gymeraeg, drwy waith *Edward Iames.*"

The author of *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* bestows upon the work the following well-merited eulogy: "Y mae ei gyfieithiad o'r Homiliau yn gyfieithiad rhagorol dros ben, ac yn teilyngu sylw, pe na bai ond er mwyn ei briodwedd wir Gymreig yn unig. A mae lle i farnu, gyda chryn ddilysrwydd, wrth ambell ymadrodd, ffurf rhai geiriau, ac ychydig neillduoldeb yn yr ieithwedd, mae gwr o'r Deheudir ydoedd y cyfieithydd clodwiw. Saif Edward James ar orsaf uchel fel gwasanaethwr ei gyd-genedl, yn ymyl Gwilym Salsbri, yr Esgob Morgan, a'r Esgob Parri; ac fel ysgrifenwr Cymraeg dilediaith, nid yw yn ol i un o honynt.' [1]

The following quotation from his Introduction will serve the double purpose of giving an epitomised history of the Homilies and also an example of the author's pregnant style: "Am hynny, pan ystyriodd y brenin ieuangc duwiol Edward VI. pa mor anaml

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 80.

oedd gwir bregethwyr gair Duw o fewn ei deyrnas ef, y rhai a fedrai addysgu'r bobl i gredu yn Nuw, i alw arno, ac i gadw ei orchymynion sanctaidd ef, efe a barodd wrth gyngor ei gyngoriaid i wŷr duwiol dysgedig, cyfarwydd yngair Duw, gynnull a sgrifennu yr Homiliau duwiol yma, allan o'r Ysgrythyrau sanctaidd; unig ffynnon pob doethineb; unig ymborth yr eneidiau; unig dywysog ac arweinydd, a rhinwedd, a duwioldeb; unig ddiwreiddydd pob chwyn gwenwynig; unig wrthladdydd pob anwybodaeth; ac unig gyferbyn yn erbyn pob athrawiaeth dwyllodrus, yr hon sydd yn tywys i ofer-goel, traws-opiniynau, a delw-addoliad. Yn yr Homiliau hyn cynhwysir y prif bynciau o'n ffydd ni, ac o'n dyled tu ag at Dduw a'n cymmydogion; fel y gallai yr Offeiriaid a'r Curadiaid annysgedig, y rhai ni fedrant yn amgen etto, wrth adrodd, datgan, a darllain yr Homiliau hyn, bregethu i'w pobl wir athrawiaeth; ac fel y gallai pawb o'r bobl wrth wrando, ddysgu'n union ac yn iawn anrhydeddu ac addoli yr Hollalluog Dduw, a'i wasanaethu yn ddiwyd."

A second edition of *Llyfr yr Homiliau* was published in 1817, and a third edited by the Rev. Morris Williams (Nicander), in 1847, printed at Bala. The former has kept very closely to the original edition of 1606, but the latter varies widely and almost seems to be a new translation of the Homilies.

Edward James' translation is one of the Welsh classics and is worthy of comparison with the work of Maurice Kyffin, Edmund Prys, and Dr. Davies of Mallwyd. The record of the author given in the *Alumni Oxonienses* is as follows: "Edward James, of co. Glamorgan, pleb., St. Edmund's Hall, 1585-6, aged 16. B.A. from Jesus College, 1589; M.A., 1592; perhaps Vicar of Caerleon, Monmouthshire, 1596; Prebendary in the Collegiate Church of Brecon, 1598; Rector of Llangattock, Monmouthshire, 1598; Vicar of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, 1603; Chancellor of Llandaff, 1606." The record shows that Gwilym Lleyn was correct when he judged from his language "mae gwr o'r Deheudir ydoedd." He died in 1610.

The next work of note is **Rowland Vaughan's** translation of "The Practice of Piety." Its full title is as follows: Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb: yn cyfar-wyddo dyn i ryngu bodd Duw: Yr hwn lyfr â osodwyd allan yn saeson-aec o waith y gwir barchedig Dâd Lewis Escob Bangor, ac a gyfieithwyd yn gamber-aec o waith Row. Vaughan o Gaergai o sir Feirion wr bonheddig. *Est voluisse satis.* Printiedig gan Felix Kyngston tros Robert Allot, ac ydynt iw cael tan lûn yr Arth, ym monwent St. Paul yn Llundain. 1630."

Bishop Lewis Bayly's book, "The Practice of Piety, Directing a Christian man how to walk, that he may please God," was first published in 1612, or at least, that is the date of its first entry at Stationers' Hall. Another edition appeared in that same year, and the third edition in 1613. This is the edition Rowland Vaughan translated,[1] and Thomas Jones, of Oswestry, states that the Welsh translation was ready in 1620. It is thought its publication was delayed owing to the appearance of Bishop Parry's Bible in that year. It was put in the press early in 1629, and appeared in 1630. The book is prefaced with an address by the author, "Lewis Bayly, At yr uchel alluocaf Dywysog, Charles, Tywysog Cymbru." There is also an address by the translator, "I'r annwyl Urddasol Wraig, Margred, unig etifeddes Syr John Lloyd, Marchog a Sersiant o'r gyfraith, a chywely John Lloyd o Riwaedog Esq. grâs a thangneddyf yn y byd hwn, a gorfoledd tragwyddol yn y byd a ddaw a ddeisyf, R. V."

In his address to the reader, which follows, the translator rebukes those Welsh people who, in his age, belittled their own language and neglected the educatlon of their children: "Mwyaf peth sydd yn dyfod yn erbyn ein hiaith ni ydyw, anhawsed gan y cymru roddi eu plant i ddyscu, fel y mae'n well gan lawer dŷn fod ei etifedd yn fuwch yn ei fyw, na threulio gwerth buwch i ddyscu iddo ddarllain. . . . Edrych a ddichon y llyfr hwn roddi meddyginiaeth i'th enaid, neu lyfrau eraill oi gyffelyb: megis y

[1] For this information the writer is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Shankland.

llyfr odiaethol a gyfenwir *llwybr hyffordd i'r nefoedd* o gyfieithiad y llên dyscedig am hanwyl athro Mr. *Ro.* lloyd Ficar y waen, neu bregeth am edifeirwch o waith yr un rhyw gymreugydd rhagorol . . . . os cei di ddaioni oddiwrth y llyfr hwn, meddwl yn dy weddi am un a fydd yn rhwym i wneuthur iw iaith a'i wlad y gwasanaeth a'r vfudd-dod gorau ar a fedro, tra byddo ei enw Row : Vaughan."

Di gwyn yw gennif yn y deg iaith bêr
Ddwyn y boen yn hirfaith
Os byddi was wybydd-iaith
Yn fwyn gyd-ddwyn am gwaith.

R. V.

This introductory letter is interesting in that it expresses the mind of the author concerning his own language, his contempt of those who despised it, and his noble spiritual ideals for his countrymen.

The other editions of this work are :

Second edition, 1656, " *Yr ail Impressiwn gwedi i* correctio ai amendio drwyddo. Printiedig gan Sarah Griffin tros Philip Chetwind : An. Dom. 1656."

Stephen Hughes was instrumental in publishing this.

Third edition, 1675. "Printiedig yn Llundain gan *Tho. Dawks* dros *Ph. Chetwin* ac a werthir dan lun y tri Bibl gyferbyn a'r Royal Exchange, 1675." This is the edition published through the efforts of Thomas Gouge, and is the one used by all subsequent editors. To it is affixed an address entitled " Diwygiwr y preintwasc at y darllenydd " by Charles Edwards, who revised the proofs for Mr. Gouge. He states that he found it necessary to alter many things in the book, because the meaning was often obscure and failed to convey the original. At the same time he expresses his veneration for Rowland Vaughan and his work.

The fourth edition was published by Thomas Jones, of Shrewsbury, in 1685. " y pedwerydd argraffiad yn Gymraeg, wedi gwellau llawer o gam yspeiliadau oedd yn yr Argraphiadau eraill."

The Cardiff *Catalogue* mentions a fifth edition, which appeared in this century, and dates it c. 1690.

The author of the original, Dr. Lewis Bayly, was a Carmarthen man, and one of the most noted orators of this century. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and his celebrity as a preacher brought him to the notice of James I., who made him his chaplain, he having previously been chaplain to Prince Henry, who predeceased the King. In 1611, he was Vicar of Evesham, in Worcestershire, from 1610-16 he was Treasurer of St. Paul's, holding the benefice of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, from 1612-16. In the latter year, on the death of Bishop Rowlands, the King gave him the bishopric of Bangor, in which diocese he also held the Archdeaconry of Anglesey, 1616, and several livings *in commendam*.[1] His most celebrated treatise *The Practice of Piety* took hold of the religious imagination of many countries, it was even translated into the Indian tongue. It is a book which is said to have had a profound influence upon John Bunyan. In England it went through countless editions in the 17th and 18th centuries, and in Wales, five during the 17th century, as seen above. In 1625 it was translated into French, and several editions were issued, so that a French writer, John D'Espagne, complained in 1656 that the French people looked upon it as equal in authority with the Bible.[2]

Bishop Bayly died in 1632, and was buried in Bangor Cathedral.

The other works of Rowland Vaughan are also translations. He was often known as "Rowland Vaughan y Cyfieithydd." In 1658 he published "Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl A Llwybraidd fodd byrr or Athrawiaeth o honi. O waith Iago Usher Escob Armagh . . . . 2 Tim. 1. 13 [quoted] . . . Llundain. Argraphedig gan Joa. Streater, tros Philip Chetwinde, 1658."

This was the Catechism of Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh,[3] the author of the *Primordia*.

In the same year he published "Yr arfer o Weddi yr

[1] *Alumni Oxonienses.* See also *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 34, 35. [2] *Athen*; *Oxon*: i., p. 486. [3] *Ath*: *Oxon*: ii. p. 22.

Arglwydd a amddiffynir yn erbyn Dadleuon y newyddiaid o'r amseroedd yma. Gan Ioan Despagne. 1652." (John Despagne was a French writer, who was a preacher at Somerset House Chapel about this time). Also:

"Prifannav Sanctaidd neu Lawlyfr O Weddiau a wnaethpwyd, yn dair Rhan: I. Seliau Crefydd Gristianogawl ac Athrawiaeth Ecclwys *Frydain* fawr, ar Rhagoriaeth rhyngddi ar vn o Rufain yr awrhon, ar rhai *newydd adgyweirio* neu *ddisbaddu*. II. Beunyddol ac wythnosawl ffurfoedd o weddiau, a nerthwyd ar Scrythyrau glân, Myfyrdodau, a Rheolau, i gadw yr enaid *oddiwrth y lkwybr cynefin o bechod*, ac i'w ddwyn ym-mlaen i farweiddio ei yrfa. III. Saith o orchymynnion i'r cydwybod, gan draddodi (onid yw y corph cyfan) yr aelodau pennaf o ddefinyddiaeth, yr hon yw'r gelfyddyd nid o *ymddadleu* ond o *fyw* yn dda. O waith yr Anrhydeddus Athro *William Brough* Dr. o ddefinyddiaeth, a Deon diweddar o Gwaerloiw. Y trydydd argraphiad yn Saesonaeg ar cyntaf yn gamberaeg o Gyfieithiad Row: Vaughan, Esq. . . . Peth mawr yw bod yn Gristion nid i ymddangos. Caer Ludd. Printiedig gan Sara Griffin, tros *Philip Chetwinde* o'r heol hynaf, 1658." Then follows a dédication: "I'r ardderchawg hên Fryttwn William Salesburi *o Fachenbyd es* [*q*] *llawenydd cyflawn, a gorfoledd tragywyddol iw dymuniad* . R. V.," and some Latin verses commendatory to William Salesburi, who had helped Rowland Vaughan to defray the expenses of publication, by I. S., and G. S., both of Jesus College, Oxford, and *Edmondus Meyricke*, a Scholar of that college; also, "Mawl ir llyfr ar cyfieithydd."

Dr. William Brough, the author of the original work, which was called "The Grounds of Christian Religion," and was Part I. of his "Manual of Devotions," was a Cambridge man, and held the rectory of St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, in 1630, until sequestered in 1645. He was a Royal chaplain and Canon of Windsor. He held the Deanery of Gloucester 1644-5, was deprived of it in the latter year, but restored in 1660, and kept it till his death in 1671. Rowland Vaughan had undertaken the translation at the request of William Salisbury, the Royalist keeper

of Denbigh Castle, who bore the cost and distributed the books amongst the poor. Brough was in high favour with Archbishop Laud, reputed to be an Arminian, and suspected of Popery.[1] If this book is a criterion, there was no ground for the suspicion.

Rowland Vaughan's next work was: "Pregeth yn erbyn Schism: Neu, Wahaniadau yr Amseroedd hyn: A Bregethwyd yn Watlington yn sir Rydychen, mewn peth cythryfwl, Medi 11, 1652. Yn ol ymddadleu cyhoeddus a fu yno Rhwng Jasper Mayne, D.D. Ac un [John Pendarves]. Cyfieith. R. V. Mat. 13. 46. [quoted]. Caer-Ludd: Argraphedig gan Jo. Streater tros Phil. Chetwynd."

This book is dedicated to his nephew, Evan Vaughan, and his family at Moel y Fronllwyd, who took charge of several of our author's MSS. during the unsettled times of the Civil War. Following this address are Latin lines in praise of Rowland Vaughan, W. Salisbury, and W. Brough.

The translation was produced under the following circumstances: Rowland Vaughan (who was in 1642 High Sheriff of Merionethshire[2]) had been called to serve on the Grand Jury during the trial of one of the "Seintiau newydd." Vavasor Powell, who was present, it is supposed as a witness in support of the puritan, protested against Vaughan on the ground that he might be prejudiced, as he was so utterly opposed to Puritanism. The latter asked the Court permission to reply to the charge, but was refused. After the trial, Vaughan wrote to Powell and received a reply, the tenor of which occasioned this translation by the man who had suffered so much for his loyalty to the Royal cause. What Powell's reply was, is not known, but presumably it touched some point of religious controversy to which Vaughan thought Jasper Mayne's sermon[3] the best antidote. The latter was an Oxford scholar, who wrote works full of wit and sarcasm against the Cromwellians. His "Sermon against Schism, or the Separations of these times," was based on Heb. x. 24, 25, and

[1] *Fasti Oxon*: ii. p. 731. [2] *Arch. Camb.* vol. ii. (List of Sheriffs).
[3] Jasper Mayne (1604-1672), educated at Christ Church, Oxon, deprived during Commonwealth. Archdeacon of Chichester, 1660-72.

had been preached in the Church at Watlington with some interruption, on Sept. 11, 1652, against one, John Pendarves, an Anabaptist.[1]

Rowland Vaughan also published another work against schism in 1658, entitled "Ymddiffyniad Rhag pla o Schism neu Swyn gyfaredd yn erbyn neullduaethau yr Amseroedd. A dynnwyd allan o Ragscrifeniadau yr Apostolion gan mwyaf: allan o waith St. Paul a St. Jud. Yn dangos trwy yspysrwydd goruchel, i ba gyfryw bechodau a pheryglon ofnadwy y syrthiant hwy, y rhai a rêd allan or Ecclwys i *Schism* neu rwygiad. Ac o ba fath gynneddf melldigedig ddamnedig ydyw ŷ gwyr a demtia, ac a arweinia ir cyfryw neillduadau. Cyfieithiad R. V. Esc. 1 Cor. ii. 18, 19. [quoted] . . . [Quotation from Tertullian] . . . Printiedig ynghaer Ludd gan Joa. Streater tros Philip Chetwinde, 1658."

The production of these five books in one year shows with what ardour this old Welsh squire defended his religious principles, and how pre-eminent he was amongst his contemporaries in his aim to improve his countrymen. Very little is known about him, and the year of his birth has not been definitely ascertained. He was the son of John Vaughan, of Caergai, but the *Alumni Oxonienses* errs when it states that this "excellent linguist and renowned poet" was the Rowland Vaughan whose record is that he entered Gloucester Hall 1574-5, at the age of 14. We know definitely that Rowland Vaughan, our author, died in 1667, and published books as late as 1658. No man of 98 years, which is what his age would be, were he born in 1560, as the *Alumni Oxonienses* states, could accomplish this.

Of his poetry, more will be said later. As for his prose, it was vigorous and idiomatic, and in his translations the originals have not suffered much at his hands. He certainly did a good work for his country when he gave it, in 1630, the book which had such a wide-spread devotional influence on almost every country in Europe, and even as far as the haunts of the Redskins in the Western hemisphere—Bishop Bayly's "Practice of Piety."

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 507-08.

The year 1630 produced also another devotional book which had a deep and abiding influence upon Welsh life in this century, and which Rowland Vaughan mentioned in his preface, viz., *Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd.* Its full title is taken here from the 1682 edition of the work, supervised by Charles Edwards, which is the second edition (the title-page of the copy of the first edition which came into the writer's hands is missing), and is as follows: "Llwybr hyffordd yn cyfarwyddo yr anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd. Yn yr hwn y dichon dyn ystyriol weled ei gyflwr presennol, pa un ydyw ai cadwedig, ai colledig. Wedi ei osod allan ar dull ymddiddanion, yn gyntaf yn Saesonaec, o waith Arthur Dent, Gweinidog Gair Duw. Ac yr Awr-hon wedi ei gyfieithu yn Gamberaec er cymmorth ir Cymro annysgedig, fel y gallo efe gael yn ei dafod-iaith ei hûn, foddion a chyfryngau i chwanegu ei wybodaeth i wasanaethu Duw. Esay 1. 16 [verse quoted]. Yr ail argraphiad. Printiedig yn Llundain gan Bennet Griffin yn y Flwyddyn, 1682." The printer of the 1630 edition was "Nicholas Okes dros George Latham, ac a geir ar werth yn monwent St. Paul tan arwydd Pen Escob, 1630."

The dedication runs: "I'r Gwir Barchedig Dâd yn Nuw, Iohn drwy râd Duw Arglwydd Escob Llan Elwy, R. Ll. sy'n damuno pob llwyddiant; a diddanwch Ysprydol ar y ddaiar, a gogoniant tragwyddol yn y Nefoedd." Then follows a letter "At y darllennudd o Gymro uniaith; Annerch. O'm stafell yn Ffoster lân yn Llundain yr Ugeinfed dydd o fis Medi. 1629." The contents of the book fall under six heads: 1. Drueni dyn tan naturiaeth, a'r ymadferth i ddiangc rhagddo. 2. Anwiredd yr amser ymma, a chyffredin lygredigaeth y byd. 3. Nodau plant Duw, a nodau y gwrthodedig: ac arwyddion hysbys o iachawdwriaeth a damnedigaeth. 4, Mor anhawdd yw myned i fywyd; a lleied yw nifer y rhai â ant yno. 5. Anwybodaeth y byd, a'i wrthattebion yntef. 6. Hyfryd addewidion yr Efengyl, ac aml drugareddau Duw i'r sawl oll â edifarhânt, ac â gredant, ac â wir ddychwelant atto ef."

The four characters who take part in the dialogue are

Theologus (Pregeth-wr), *Philagathus* (Gwr-da), *Asunetus* (Anghyfarwydd-ddyn), *Antilegon* (Ceccryn). The text, which runs to 446 pages, is followed by Family Prayers, arranged for morning and evening use, and private prayers. In the 1682 edition, Charles Edwards, as was his wont, appended a letter entitled "Diwygiwr y Preintwasg at y Darllennydd. C.E. 1682." The next thing in the book is the translation of Arthur Dent's sermon (but not in full) on "Repentance," based on St. Luke xiii. 5, which Robert Llwyd had issued separately and completely in 1629. The *Llwybr Hyffordd* was also, as the title-page shows, the translation of one of Arthur Dent's works. The book ends with a vocabulary, which Charles Edwards generally appended to the books he edited, for the same reason he mentions here: "Deongliad rhai geiriau yn y llyfr hwn a allant fod yn anhawdd eu deall mewn rhai mannau, yn enwedig yn Neheubarth Cymru."

Arthur Dent, the author of the original *Plain Pathway to Heaven* was minister of South Shoobery (or Soubery), in Essex, and one of the Presbyterians of James I's. reign, who was cited by Bishop Aylmer to appear before the High Commission Court, in 1584, for refusing to wear the surplice and to make the sign of the cross in baptism. He afterwards, with twenty-six other ministers, presented a petition to the Lords of the Council. He also wrote a work called "The Ruine of Rome, or an Exposition of Revelation." He died about 1600.[1]

Robert Llwyd was a Carnarvonshire man, who entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1585, aged 20. He graduated B.A. in 1588, and M.A. in 1591,[2] perhaps B.D. in 1602. Archdeacon Thomas, in his learned work "The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph," records him as Rector of Halkyn, Flints, 1594-1626; Vicar of Wrexham, 1598-1640; Vicar of Chirk, 1615; Vicar of Nannerch, 1629; and Prebendary of Meliden (Treasurer of St. Asaph Cathedral), in 1624.[3]

It was generally supposed that he was not ejected by the Cromwellian Commissioners. Judging from the convincing

[1] Brook's *Life of the Puritans*, ii., p. 111. [2] *Alumni Oxonienses.*
[3] *Thomas*, vol. i., p. 341.

sincerity of his words in his letter to the "Reader," prefacing *Llwybr Hyffordd*, he could be guilty of no dereliction of duty, for he there urges the illiterate to make every effort to learn to read in order that the Scriptures might be an open book to them for their soul's good. Walker, however, was quite correct in his "Sufferings of the Clergy" when he states that he *was* ejected. Thomas, in his *History of St. Asaph*, names him among the parochial clergy deprived[1] and also in the list of prebendaries so treated.[2] This is placed beyond all doubt by a paper recently issued by *Cymdeithas Llen Cymru*, which records the proceedings of the Commissioners in North Wales under the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel." There is one entry which concerns Robert Llwyd. It reads: "At a meeting held at Wrexham, Nov. 21, 1650, Resolved y^t^ Mr Lloyd Vicar of Chirke be allowed twenty pounds per ann. out of ye profitts of ye said vicaridge" (p. 26).[3] And "Robert Lloyd V. of Chirk 1616 Preb. of Meliden 1624 Deprived by the Commonwealth Assessors," is a further record by Archdeacon Thomas.

The *Llwybr Hyffordd* is Robert Llwyd's chief work. It is written in excellent Welsh, is pervaded by a spirit of deep devotion and religious fervour, and is essentially Calvinistic in doctrine. His style is almost as vigorous as that of Elis Wyn in the *Bardd Cwsg*. In its preface he declaims against unprofitable games, which squandered time that might be used to better advantage. In particular, he pleads with his countrymen to abandon the dice-board and the tavern, and to cultivate reading. There is no mention of his return to his preferments at the Restoration, and it is probable that he died before 1660. Archdeacon Thomas thinks it likely that Robert Llwyd was associated with the production of the 1630 Bible. He was certainly in London, on his own showing, in Sept. 1629.[4]

The following year, 1631, saw the publication of *Car-wr y Cymru*. There has been considerable confusion about the work

[1] See vol. i. p. 111. [2] ibid iii. p. 341. [3] This was probably the fifth of the income of the benefice. [4] See his Dedication in the *Llwybr Hyffordd*.

bearing this title. It has arisen through ignorance of the fact that *two distinct works* bearing the same main title were printed, the first in 1630, and the second, which is the better known, in 1631. The British Museum "*Catalogue* of Early British Books to 1640," on page 1578, records the two different works, and to show how entirely they differ, their respective titles shall be given here in full:

"Carwr y Cymru: yn Anfon ychydig gymmorth i bôb Tâd, a mam sy'n ewyllysio bod eu plant yn blant i Dduw hefyd: a chael o honynt wir wybodaeth o ffordd iechydwriaeth. Neu ymddiddan Ysprydol rhwng rhieni a'u plant, yn cynnwys eu dyledswydd i'w gilydd. [Two verses quoted, Esay 38. 19, and Diarhebion 22. 5]. Printiedig yn Llundain gan Nicholas Okes dros Philemon Stephens, a Christopher Meredith, tan arwydd y Llew Euraidd ym Monwent S. Paul. 1630."

This is a small book containing but twelve pages, whereas the other is a larger work containing 135 pages of text, and is entitled:

"Car-wr y Cymru, Yn annog ei genedl anwyl, a'i gydwladwyr er mwyn Crist ai heneidiau i chwilio yr Scrythyrau yn ol gorchymyn Crist. Joh. 5. 39. Y rhai, yr awr 'hon yn ddiweddar a brintiwyd o newydd yn Gymraec; ac a geir ar werth yn llyfran cynnwys, a bychain eu maintioli a'i prîs, drwy fawr ddiwydrwydd, a thraul swrn o wyr Duwyol, enwog ac ewyllys-gar i wneuthur daioni i'r Cymru. Llvndain, Printiedig gan Felix Kyngston, drwy awdurdod. 1631."

Nothing is known as to the author of the first of these books, and it is by no means certain that Oliver Thomas was the author of the second, although it is generally ascribed to him. Anthony Wood states definitely that he was the author.[1] And as he based most of his information concerning Welsh authors on the authority of Welsh Principals of Jesus College, and others, who were his contemporaries during the time he compiled his laborious and useful work, and especially, as he states, of Michael Roberts, who

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i. p. 860.

had years of leisure at Oxford after his ejection (or, rather, his forced resignation) from the Principalship of Jesus College, during which he could fully inform himself on matters he communicated to Wood, his opinion must not be lightly put aside. It is the kind of work that might have been expected from a man of Oliver Thomas' sympathies. He was subsequently one of the Commissioners under the Commonwealth, and the term "Cromwell's Bible," used of the 1654 edition, suggests that the Commissioners paid special attention to the dissemination of the Scriptures. So that it would be no strange thing to find Oliver Thomas strongly advocating, as this work does, that the Cymry should possess themselves of the edition of the Bible put into their hands through the generosity of Rowland Heilyn and Thomas Middleton. There is, however, no evidence to substantiate this opinion. The book itself, which may be regarded as a kind of sequel to the crown octavo edition of the Bible of 1630, exhorts the Cymry to make use of the Scriptures now brought within their reach, has a prayer for forgiveness for the neglect of them hitherto, Morning and Evening Prayers for family worship, Morning and Evening Prayers to be used on Sundays by the head of the family, a Grace before Meat and after Meat, a letter to the reader by Robert Llwyd, Vicar of Y Waun (Chirk), and an exhortation in English "To all the Worthy and True-hearted Well-willers and furtherers of the Spiritual weal of Wales who have put their helping hand and hearts to that late, necessary, and worthy worke of Setting forth the Bible in Welsh in a small volume." The book ends with *The Pronunciation of the Letters in the British Tongue*, and *A Comparison of the Letters in Welsh to the Greeke and Hebrew Letters*, the work of Edward Kyffin.

Oliver Thomas is stated in the *Alumni Oxonienses* to have been a Montgomeryshire man, and is styled *gentleman*. He entered Hart Hall in 1616, at the age of 18, which gives 1598 as the year of his birth. He graduated B.A. in 1620, and M.A. in 1628. If he wrote *Car-wr y Cymru* he did so at the height of his powers, when he was thirty-three. After leaving the

University he became a Presbyterian, and his name appears amongst the "approvers" in the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel (1650-53). The Oxford record states that he was "perhaps Rector of Lawrenny, co. Pembroke, in 1624." If this is so, he must have received episcopal Orders, before he seceded to Presbyterianism. We find that he was elected to the benefice of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant, May 14, 1650, by the Commissioners, and the following entry occurs in their "Proceedings in North Wales": "Mr. Oliver Thomas elected Llanrhaiader in the Countyes of Denbigh and Merioneth," and it is quaintly added, "William Hill of Llanrhaiader was then ejected and *dejected*."[1]

The only work which bears Oliver Thomas' name is that which appeared in 1647, entitled, "Drych i dri math o Bobl, sef i'r Anghristion, Rhith-gristion, a'r Gwir-gristion, 1647." A second edition of this excellently written work appeared in *Trysor i'r Cymru*, in 1677, edited by Stephen Hughes. Oliver Thomas is supposed to have been promoted in 1657 to a living in Shropshire,[2] and to have died at Felton, in that county, but I find nothing to support either of these statements. The year of his death is unknown. The theory that Robert Llwyd was the author of *Car-wr y Cymru* rests on the foundation that he has signed the letter to the "Reader," which precedes the text, but this does not necessarily constitute him the author.

In 1632, was published one of the best prose writings both as regards substance and style in the Welsh language. It was the work of **Dr. John Davies,** of Mallwyd, and is entitled: "Llyfr y Resolusion, yr hwn sydd yn dysgv i ni bawb wneuthur ein goreu, a rhoi cwbl o'n bryd a'n meddwl ar fod yn wir Gristianogion, hynny ydyw ar ymadael a'n drwg fuchedd, a throi ar ddaioni a duwioldeb; Wedi ei gyfieithu yn Gymraeg y gan J. D. [Dr. John Davies o Fallwyd] er llês i'w blwyfolion; A'i brintio yn Llundain yn nhy John Beale, tros yr un J. D. 1632."

This book, which is a translation of Edmund Bunney's adaptation, for Protestant readers, of Robert Parsons' *Christian Directory*,

[1] *Cymdeithas Llen Cymru*: "An Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, 1649," p. 18. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., p. 869.

was previously translated into Welsh by Robert Gwinn (Gwynne), whose record in the *History of Oxford Writers* is as follows; "Robert Gwinn, a Welsh man born, took one degree in Arts, 1568, and in 1571, leaving the University, went with Thom. Crowther another Batchelour, to Doway, where being admitted into the English College, made very great progress in Divinity. Afterwards Gwinn returning into England, and settling in Wales in the condition of a Secular Priest, did write several Pious Works in the Welsh Tongue, as Anton. Possivinus tells us, but the Titles of them he omits; and also translated from the English into the Welsh Language, *A Christian Directory or Exercise guiding Men to Eternal Salvation, commonly called the Resolution:* Written by Rob. Persons, the Jesuit, which translation was much used and valued, and so consequently did a great deal of good among the Welsh people. See more in Jo. Davies under the year 1634.[1] The further reference to which we are directed states: "He (Dr. John Davies) also translated into the same language (Welsh) which he had studied at vacant hours for thirty years the book of *Resolution*, written by Robert Persons, a Jesuit."[2] It is interesting to note further the record of Robert Persons or Parsons, given in the same work, gathered, as the writer states, "partly from his own writings, partly from record, and partly from impartial writers."

"He was a most noted and learned writer of his time, and the ornament of the English nation in the opinion of those of his Society. . . . Having a good memory he could repeat what he had read once or twice very readily. . . . A virtuous good Priest who became Vicar of Nether-Stowey, perceiving that Robert had pregnant parts, did teach him the Latin tongue. . . . In the latter end of 1563, R. Parsons being fitted for Academical learning was sent to the said College (Balliol). . . . By the help of good natural parts with unwearied industry he became in short time a smart Disputant not only in the college, but publick Schools, as occasion served. In 1568 he was admitted Bachelor of Arts and

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i. p. 224. [2] ibid i. p. 519.

the same year Probationer-Fellow of the said College, which, being terminated, he was made Chaplain-Fellow, and so consequently went into Orders, being then a noted Tutor in the College. In 1572 he was admitted Master of Arts, and in 1574 he resigned his Fellowship of his own accord, being then, if not before, about to change his Religion. In 1574 he left England, went to Calais and thence to Antwerp, he diverted himself for a time with a journey to Louvain . . . . intending to prosecute the study of Physick at Padua. At length he went there and studied that Faculty . . . and Civil Law. Upon second thoughts he relinquished those studies, went to the Eng. College at Rome, and was there admitted into the Society of Jesus, 1575 . . . . He was constituted Rector of the English College [at Rome] in 1587. . . . He was more zealous for promoting the Jesuits' interest than any before his time."[1]

Robert Parsons had first pnblished his book in 1583, from which edition and book were framed two more, published in 1584, one by a Roman Catholic living at Rouen, which Wood states was "full of errors, but in sense the same," the other by Edmund Bunney,[2] of Merton College, Oxford. Bunney, however, altered the book "to the Protestant use," and was called to task for doing so by Parsons in the preface to his 1585 edition of the *Christian Directory*.[3]

Wood further states that "these books of *Resolution* won Parsons a great deal of praise, not only in the judgment of Roman Catholics, but of very learned Protestants." Critics, however, asserted that his work was not original, and that the praise he deserves is mainly that due to a good translator. "The platform of the said *Resolution* was laid to his hand, by *L. de Granada*, who gave him the principal grounds and the matter thereof."[4]

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i. pp. 304-5. [2] Edmund Bunney's record in the *Alumni Oxonienses* is as follows: Son of Richard [Bunney] of Newlands. Fellow of Magdalen College, 1560; B.A., 1560; M.A., 1564-5; Fellow of Merton, 1565; B.D., 1570; Canon of St. Paul's, 1564; Sub-dean of York, 1570: Canon of York, 1575. Died, 1617-18; buried in York Minster. [3] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i. pp. 304-5. [4] ibid p. 307.

It will thus be seen that Dr. John Davies was amongst those referred to as "very learned Protestants," who saw the value of Parsons' work as a devotional book, and gave his countrymen the benefit of it in their own language. It is hardly necessary to add that none of the tenets of Rome appear in this translation. John Davies did for Wales what Edmund Bunney had done for England. He altered the book "to the Protestant use." It can be conjectured that Robert Gwinn's translation, or Edmund Bunney's altered version, or both, came into his hands. The necessity for a Welsh translation was due to the fact that Gwinn's work would be doctrinally unpalatable to the vast majority of Welshmen. But the devotional side of the work was so uplifting that Dr. Davies would have his parishioners, in the first place, and his countrymen generally, in the second, reap the advantage of contact with a truly devotional mind, whether it were that of Parsons or of L. de Granada.

A second edition of *Llyfr y Resolusion* was issued by Charles Edwards in 1684, in the title-page of which it is stated: "Fe brintiwyd y Llyfr hwn, er ys mwy nâ hanner cant o flynyddoedd a aethant heibio, ac yn awr drachefn, nid yn unic er mwyn y Gymraeg bûr sydd ynddo (yn amgenach nag mewn un llyfr ond y Bibl), eithr hefyd er mwyn y Defnydd da ar a ellir ei wneuthur o hono. Yr ail Argraphiad yn Llundain, gan I. R. yn y flwyddyn 1684."

It had been intended to issue this edition in 1677, and the editor of the *Trysor i'r Cymru* in his "Llythyr at y Darllenydd," states his purpose thus (as it includes his opinion of Dr. Davies' writing it shall be quoted in full): "Os Duw a rydd iechyd a bywyd disgwyliwch mewn amser, am ail brintio y *Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd* a *Llyfr y Resolusion*, y rhai, nid yn unig er mwyn y mater, ond hefyd er mwyn y iaith tra ragorol sydd ynddynt (ac yn enwedig y diwethaf o'r ddau, o ran iaith wedi ei osod allan gan y cymreigiwr goreu yng-Hymru yn ei amser, sef y *Doctor Davies*), a haeddant eu printio drachefn." [1]

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 231.

This edition is very accurate throughout.

The next edition generally mentioned is that of 1711, wrongly supposed to have been the third edition.[1] The 1711 edition was printed by Thomas Durston, at Shrewsbury. But there is also an edition very similar to this, which was printed by *Thomas Jones*, at Shrewsbury, but is undated. A copy of this is to be seen at the University College Library, at Bangor. Durston succeeded Thomas Jones at Oswestry, so the edition bearing the name of the latter must have been earlier than 1711. It is much the same in size and appearance as that of 1711, but the pagination differs. The issue of 1711 is, therefore, the fourth edition.

Dr. W. O. Pughe published an edition in 1802, and in this occurs an alternative title to *Llyfr y Resolusion*, viz., *Dyhewyd y Cristion*. He wrongly calls it the fourth edition. The last edition published is that by Humphreys, of Carnarvon, in which the preface is dated, May, 1885. The work stands in need of further publication, and is worthy the trouble of some competent scholar to edit. At the end of Dr. Davies' book is the Lord's Prayer in Breton, and in Cornish, with a Welsh interpretation of the same. There are also added "Pyngciau'r Ffydd yn Iaith Llydaw," and "Yr un yn Iaith Gernyw," together with the *Te Deum* as translated by Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug.

The last book issued by Dr. Davies was *Yr hen Lyfr Plygain a'r gwir Gatecism*, 1633. The authority for this statement is Thomas Jones, of Shrewsbury, in his *Almanac*, which was first published in 1680. He states that this work was published "trwy orchymyn y Brenin, a thrwy lafur boen (y Doctor John Davies) yn y flwyddyn o oed Iesu, 1633"[2] A second edition of "Yr Hen Lyfr Plygain" was issued by Thomas Jones in 1683. It contained morning and evening prayers, and prayers for other occasions, a grace before and after meat, and a list of the old Welsh fairs. The catechism part of the book was intended to prepare candidates for confirmation and for the reception of Holy Communion. Dr. John Davies died in 1644.

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 293. [2] This statement occurs in the 1683 *Almanac*.

Rhys Prichard (1579-1644), Vicar of Llandovery, was, perhaps, the man who exercised the deepest influence on Welsh life on its religious side in the seventeenth century. The few details that can be gleaned of his personal history show that he was born at Llandovery in 1579, entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1597, at the age of eighteen, took his B.A. degree in 1602, and M.A. in 1626.[1] He was ordained at Wytham in Essex by the Suffragan Bishop of Colchester in 1602, and in the same year was presented to the livings of Llandingat and Llanymddyfri by the Bishop of St. David's. In 1613, King James presented him to the living of Llanedi, probably through the influence of Robert, Earl of Essex, to whom Vicar Prichard was chaplain. In 1614 he was made a prebend of the Collegiate church of Brecon, and in 1626 Chancellor of St. David's Cathedral, which was the highest dignity he attained in the church. He had also become Vicar of Llawhaden in 1626, and retained the same until his death in 1644. There is no evidence that Vicar Prichard himself ever published a book.

The state of Wales at that time was one of notorious apathy towards religion, and the life of the masses was as coarse and vulgar as it well could be. Very few could read, and for the first quarter of a century of Vicar Prichard's ministry, there were few copies of the Scriptures in the country except those chained to the lecterns in the churches. So he bent his energies in a great humanitarian and spiritual effort to turn the minds of his countrymen towards higher ideals. His great aim was to reach the masses, and to bring home to them spiritual truths. To this end he devoted himself to the task of translating his sermons into homely verse. He understood the Welsh fondness for song and melody. But he knew it would be impossible to reach the masses by circulating amongst them poems of high literary merit and classical diction. Experience had taught him that they could neither understand nor appreciate, for instance, such efforts as those of William Salesbury. So he decided in favour of easy diction and

[1] *Alumni Oxonienses;* also *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii. p. 29.

popular metres. He knew the Welshman's poetic instinct and love of rhyme, the exercise of which, at the time, was too often confined to ribald songs and coarse ballads. Why not substitute for them religious ballads? So he determined to clothe the sublimest truths of the Gospel in a garb which he, with his better instincts as a poet of some merit, could not have admired much himself. How well justified he was in his decision, posterity has attested over and over again. Good literary form would have defeated the writer's ends, and that we must not expect to find in his religious ballads. The majority of his verses are written in four-lined stanzas, each line trochaic (— ⏑) and generally consisting of eight syllables, *e.g.*:

Er croeshoelio'r Iesu drosom
A rhoi taliad llawn am danom;
Eto ni bydd neb cadwedig
Ond a gretto ynddo'n unig.

But he frequently varies the metre in the same poem; and sometimes in the same stanza (as in lines 3 and 4 below) there is an unexpected expansion of the line, *e.g.*:

Er dy fod ti'n elyn Duw
Wrth naturiaeth a'th ddrwg ryw,
Cred yn Nghrist, fe'th wna o elyn,
I'th nefol Dad yn anwyl blentyn.

Another variation is a four-line stanza, each line containing seven syllables, but the third line beginning with a strongly-accented syllable, *e.g.*:

A dysg yn brudd gydnabod,
Nad oes o flaen y Drindod,
Iawn am bechod ond gwaed Crist.
A'i angau trist a'i 'fudd-dod.

There are other instances in which a stanza similar to the above in other respects, has *eight* syllables in the third line which begins with an unaccented syllable, *e.g.*:

A gwybydd fod Duw'n foddlon,
I'r iawn a wnaeth Crist drosom,
Ac er ei fwyn yn barod iawn
Roi pardwn llawn i'r ffyddlon.

Other four-lined stanzas, which have seven syllables in each line,

begin the first and third lines with an accented syllable, and the second and fourth with an unaccented syllable, *e.g.*:

> Ni wnaeth Duw un gene 'rioed,
> Mewn tir, mewn coed, mewn dyfnder,
> Nes partoi ei ymborth tyn
> I'r geneu cyn ei ganer.

Rhys Prichard never hesitated to use words quite foreign to the Welsh language as such, provided that they were well-known colloquially. His ballads bristle with such words, which would otherwise be offensive to good literary taste; for instance, *craits*, *crippian*, *twtchis*, *part na pharsel*, *desprad*, *dwnshwn*, *bysse*, *&c.*

The Vicar's work has been classified variously. The following simple division into three classes is as good as any.[1] (1) Those poems which throw light upon the religious and social condition of the country at the time; (2) Those that contain a synopsis of the great doctrines of revealed religion; (3) Those that embody a collection of rules or counsels to be followed in every condition of life. One feature of the poems is the practical advice given to the people on matters pertaining to their temporal welfare as well as spiritual. For instance, Vicar Prichard advises them to be careful in making their wills, and to be moderate in eating and drinking, with just as much earnestness as he tells them to pray night and morning and before engaging in religious worship. He seems to have a word for all, for the young man on the threshold of life, for the soldier, the ploughman, the drover, and he addresses himself with particular force to the drunkard, for drunkenness was apparently the common evil of his day. In some of his poems he holds up the many pestilences and calamities of his time as warnings of Divine displeasure, and he gives a very vivid description of the plague which visited London in 1603, with all its attendant horrors.

There is no doubt that these ballads had an elevating influence upon the masses; and Stephen Hughes, who lived near enough to appreciate this, knew and understood the hold they had on the popular mind, and was inspired in after years to collect

[1] *Traethodydd*, vol. ii., pp. 143-155.

them with infinite toil, and to present them in book form to a wider public. He thought that their publication would create a desire in his countrymen for further knowledge of the Scriptures, and he states in the preface to the 1672 New Testament, that his anticipations in this respect had not been disappointed. The printing of Vicar Prichard's ballads led to multitudes learning to read Welsh, who afterwards bought Testaments and Bibles.[1]

Numerous editions of *Canwyll y Cymry* have appeared. *Rowland's Cambrian Bibliography* states the first part was issued by Stephen Hughes in 1646, but this seems doubtful, for no such copy has been preserved.[2]

The collecting and printing of this work was, perhaps, Stephen Hughes' greatest contribution to Welsh literature. The Rev. T. Shankland, in a lucid and able article in *Y Beirniad*, is of opinion that 1656 is a more likely date than 1646 as the year of issue of the first part. The second part appeared in 1659, its preface is dated, March 4th, 1659. It was printed by "T. Webster, tan arwydd y Tri Bibl yn St. Paul, Llundain." Webster published a large quantity of Puritan Welsh literature. The preface is signed H. M., who is known to have been Henry Maurice, who was at the time curate of Llannor and Dineio, instituted there by the Welsh Commissioners. He was afterwards an Independent minister. Henry Maurice, who was a Northwalian, had marginal notes in this edition, explaining many of the Vicar's words, which were in the Dyfed dialect, for the benefit of his fellows in the northern half of the Principality. Stephen Hughes adapted most of his books to the needs of his countrymen in North and South respectively, by appending a vocabulary of words that would present difficulties to either part. In 1670, the third part of *Canwyll y Cymry* appeared, with a preface by Stephen Hughes. Dr. William Thomas, Dean of Worcester, gave the latter much valuable support in bringing out this edition. And in 1672, which was a very memorable year for Stephen Hughes (for in it he was instrumental in publishing an edition of

[1] *Bible in Wales*, p. 33. [2] See *Y Beirniad*, cyf. ii., rhif 3, p. 176.

the New Testament), appeared the complete work, the three previous parts and a fourth part added, in one book. The chaotic disorder in which Vicar Prichard had left his work had added very much to the difficulties of Stephen Hughes, so that the publication of the whole work was a triumph of patience and steady industry, and he well deserves the tribute paid him in the following words quoted from the pages of *Y Beirniad:* "Mae'r hanes yn rhamant, a'r gwaith yn golofn goffadwriaeth anfarwol iddo yng Nghroniclau ein hiaith a'n llenyddiaeth."[1] The full title-page of the 1672 edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* is as follows:

"Gwaith Mr. Rees Prichard, gynt Ficer Llanddyfri yn Sir Gaerfyrddin; a brintiwyd o'r blaen mewn tri llyfr wedi cysylltu oll a chwbl (er nid yn yr un drefn a chynt), ynghyd a Phedwaredd Ran y nawr gynta yn brintiedig."

This was the first effort to collect and arrange the *Canwyll* in one volume. Several Welsh booksellers bore the expense of publication, and their names are worthy of mention: Mr. Goff, Caerfyrddin; Mr. Vertey, Abergafenni; Matthew Jones, Abertawe; Mr. Hughes, Wrexham; not to mention a number of Londoners who frequented Welsh fairs.[2]

Gwallter Mechain remarks,[3] "It is thought that the old Vicar of Llanymddyfri (of blessed memory) was the first of the Welsh bards to introduce the names of pagan deities into his poems, on the return of Charles I., then Prince of Wales, from Spain:

"Y Miwsis oll o Helicon,
Y Grasys tair, a'r Nymphs o'r bron,
Moeswch oll eich offer canu,
O welcwm hôm i Brins y Cymru."

Stephen Hughes was (not entirely without reason) ashamed of this verse, and omitted it in his second edition of Rhys Prichard's work. It was restored, however, in the later editions of 1841 and 1858.

Williams remarks in his *Eminent Welshmen*: "It is scarcely credible with what uncommon avidity and pleasure it [Canwyll y Cymry] was received, read, and repeated by the people. . . . . It

[1] See *Y Beirniad*, cyf. ii., rhif 3, p. 177. [2] ibid, p. 180. [3] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, i., p. 531.

had a beneficial influence on the morals and behaviour of the whole country." A poetical version in English was published by the Rev. William Evans, Vicar of Llawhaden, in 1771.

The next author whose work should be recorded is **John Edwards,** better known to Welsh readers as "Sion Tre-Redyn," who translated Edward Fisher's work, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, in 1651. Fisher graduated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1630, and was entered as a student of the Inner Temple, in the same year.[1] His work was written in the form of a dialogue between *Evangelista*, who represented a minister of the Gospel; *Nomista*, a strong supporter of the law; *Antinomista*, a man who belittled the law; and *Neophitus*, a young Christian. John Edwards had probably met Fisher at Oxford. He himself was a graduate of Jesus College in that University, taking his M.A. degree in 1629.[2] In that year he was appointed to the rectory of Llanmartin, and was preferred in 1633 to Tredennoc, in Monmouthshire, the place from which he derived his nom-de-plume (Tre-redenoc, Tre-redyn). He was deprived of this benefice before 1649, so it would not be by the Commissioners,[3] and in his enforced retirement he devoted himself to literature,[4] and the result was his translation of the above work, the Dedication of which is dated 1650. In his introduction to the reader, dated 1651, he apologises for the many errors, in the following words: "Canys nid wyf fi a anwyd ar lan Hafren ym mro Gwent (he had been born at Caldecott in 1606) lle y mae Saesoniaith yn drech na'r Brittaniaith, yn cymmeryd arnaf, na medraeth nac hysbysrwydd yn y Cymraeg, eithr nid bychan yw fy serch at yr iaith a daioni fyn' gwlad." The full title of his work is:

Madruddyn y | Difinyddiaeth | Diweddaraf: Neu | Llyfr Saesoneg a elwir, | The Marrow of Modern Divinity. | Oblegid

[1] *Alumni Oxonienses.* [2] ibid. [3] *Seren Gomer*, 1901, p. 155. [4] His own words on the subject are: "Ac (er caued fyn' genau rhag ymarfer fyn' gweinidogaeth, i'm torr-calon mwyaf, er nad wyf fi onid y gwaelaf o filoedd, ac yn anaddas o'r swydd weinidogaidd, eto) am fodd yn anhawdd gennif fi, ac yn tra enbeidus i mi, na llwyr ymadael o'm galwad, na bod ychwaith yn segur ynddi, y cymerais i hyn o boen ewyllysgar."—Introduction to the *Madruddyn.*

y Cyfammod o weithredoedd, a'r Cy- | fammod o râs, a'u hymarfer hwy ill dau, a'u diweddion, ¶ dan yr hên Destament, a'r Testament Newydd. | Ym mha un, y dangosir yn eglur, pa cyn belled | y mae dyn yn sefyll ar y gyfraith o ran ei Cyfiawn- | haad, ac ar hynny yn haeddu ei alw | yn Ddeddfwr. | A pha cyn bellhed y mae arall yn bychanu'r gy- | fraith o ran Sancteiddiad, ac ar hynny yn haeddu ei alw | yn Ddeddf-wrthwynebwr. | A'r llwybr canolig rhwng y ddau, yr hon â | arwain i fywyd tragwyddol trwy Jesu Christ | Mewn Cyd-ymddiddan rhwng | *Evangelista.* Gwenidog yr Efengyl. | *Nomista.* Deddfwr, neu wr yn dal o ochor y cyfraith. | *Antinomista.* Deddf-wrthwynebwr, neu wr yn llwyr by- | chanu'r gyfraith. | *Neophitus.* Christion iefangc.

O waith E. F. yn y Saesneg | O cyfieithiad J. E. i'r Gymraeg. | Men' mutare nefas, nec clam, nec cum scrobe, | Nusquam? Hic tamen infodiam. |

Printiedig yn Llundain gan T. Mabb a A. Coles, dros | William Ballard, ag i cael ar werth yn i siop ef dan lûn | y Bibl yn heol'r ûd yn ninas Bristol, 1651." 303 pages.

The title-page itself furnishes sufficient evidence that the writer was not very conversant with the Welsh language. Making allowance for some printer's errors, it is fairly obvious that he had very little knowledge of consonant mutations, or the genders of Welsh nouns. But the substance of the book is weighty, and was well worth the author's trouble of putting within reach of those of his monoglot countrymen, and they were many, who were deprived of the advantage of reading the original by Fisher. No record has come to hand of the year of John Edwards' death, but it is thought that he was restored to his benefice, as Walter Prosser, who held that living from 1657 to 1660, was deprived in the latter year.[1]

The next publications of importance, in this part of our subject, were the work of **Richard Jones,** Vicar of Llanfair Caereinion, a writer whose identity was confused in recent times with another of the same name, who was Master of the Free

[1] *Seren Gomer*, 1901, p. 155.

School at Denbigh. The history of this confusion has been very well set forth by the Rev. T. Shankland in an article published by Evans and Short, Tonŷpandy, entitled *Cynnyg i Benderfynu hen Ddadl Lyfryddol.* Earlier authors than Gwallter Mechain had always distinguished the identity of the two men, but in the *Gwyliedydd* of September, 1825, pp. 275-7, Gwallter Mechain started the heresy which so many subsequent writers followed. He writes, "Nis gwn pwy oedd Risiard Jones o Ddinbych, os nad yr un Risiard Jones, mab i Sion Puw o Henllan, yn ymyl Dinbych." He made this statement in ignorance that Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses*[1] had supplied details, accurate in the main, respecting Richard Jones, of Llanfair Caereinion, and Edmund Calamy had performed a similar service in the case of Richard Jones, of Denbigh.[2] Or, what is more likely, Gwallter Mechain had seen Wood's account, but not that of Calamy, and found the solution of a difficult problem by ascribing all the works which appeared over the name of Richard Jones, between 1653 and 1677, to the same author. The matter has now, however, been cleared up, and the separate literary identity of each Richard Jones restored.

Richard Jones, of Llanfair Caereinion, was the son of John Pugh, of Henllan, in Denbighshire, and was born in that county, in 1603. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1621, took the degrees in Arts, and proceeded to Holy Orders. He was appointed to the benefice of Llanfair C.E. in 1636,[3] and remained there until 1650, when he was deprived by the Welsh Commissioners. The period of his retirement saw the publication of the two original works which he contributed to Welsh literature, viz., *Testun y Testament Newydd* in 1653, and *Perl y Cymro: neu Cofiadur y Beibl . . ,* 1655. Both books are summaries of the contents of the Bible in free metric form, and are of sufficient interest to merit more detailed attention. The full title of the former is:

[1] *Ath*: *Oxon*: ii., 2nd Edit., 1721. columns 165, 166. [2] Calamy's Account, 2nd Edit., ii., p. 844. [3] *Thomas, Esgobaeth Llanelwy*, p. 754.

"Testûn Testament | newydd ein Harglwydd a'n Jachawdwr | Jesu Grist, | Yn Benhillion Cymraeg mewn Egwy- | ddoraidd drefn, a osodwyd allan trwy lafûr | *Ri. Jones* ô Lanfair yn-Ghaer Eingnion | yn Sir Drefaldwyn gweinidog gair Duw, | ac Athro yn y Celfyddydau. | Fo chwanegwyd atto Epitome ô Lyfr cyntaf | Moses yr hwn a elwir Genesis. | *Non est mortale quod opto.* | Nid marwol beth yr wy i'n ei geisio. | [Jo. 5. 39 quoted.] Ai Printio, Yn Llundain, ag iw werthu gan *John Brown* tan y fesen eurad yn mon-wynt | Paul. MDCLIII."

A Welsh alphabet follows, and a letter "At yr Enwog urddasol Bendefig Edward Vaughan ô Lwydiart Esq." The letter *At y Darlleydd*, which comes next, is full of interest, for it gives the author's reason for undertaking the work: "Gan ddarfod im Harglwydd am Duw ymweled am fi (ymysc eraill om Brodyr) a dadol gerydd yn gyfiawn am fy meiau, fy nifuddio ô ran etifeddiaeth plant Lefi . . . . am gwahardd i ddilin swydd fyngalwedigaeth, Myfi ûn ô rhai gwaelaf yngweinidogaeth yr Efengyl rhag fy nghyfrif yn ail i'r gwâs diog difudd a guddiodd ei Dalent . . . . a ryfygais gymmeryd hyn ô dasc yn llaw . . . . . Mi â gymhwysais Bennill Cymraeg am bob pennod mewn mesur cyffredinol, mal y galleu y sawl â ewyllysiant yn hawsach ei ddyscu, ai gofio . . . . i ymarfer â geiriau y Scrythur lân, yn lle ofer, wâg ganniadau bydol, difuddiol i iechadwriaeth eu heneidiau . . . . Nid yw hyn o lyfr, ond bychan; ag etto, os gwnei y goreu ô hono, fe ddichon fod i ti yn Berl gwerthfawr . . . . Mnemosynon yw, peth, trwy ychydig boen, neu yn hytrach bleser y cei di lawer ô ddifeinyddiol wybodaeth."

The author's plan, as will be seen from the above letter to the Reader, was to epitomise each chapter in the New Testament into a single stanza; for instance (to take a well-known chapter), the tenth of St. John is thus epitomised:

> Mud fugail lladd 1-10 Christ ydyw'r ffyddlon 11
> Mab Duw 5. nis creda yr Iddewon 26
> Un yw ar Tad 30 ei lâdd rhai n ceisio 31-39
> Ciliodd 40 llawer credodd ynddo 42.

The numerals refer to the verses in this particular chapter.

Richard Jones' other work, *Perl y Cymro: neu Cofiadur y Beibl*, was published in 1655. It has three title-pages, English, Welsh, and Latin. The first reads: "The British Gemm; or an Abstract of the Bible Digested into Cambrian Metricall Numbers, so methodically that one may quickly pass through the whole Body of Scripture and retain the substance thereof with much advantage to memory. Directions also whereby any English gentleman, or other, may speedily learn to read the same, or any other Tract in the British Language. By Richard Jones, Master of Arts and Minister of the Gospel. London. Printed by T. H. at the authors charge and are to be sold by E. Brewster at the Crane in Pauls Churchyard 1655."

The Welsh title reads: "Perl y Cymro neu Cofiadur y Beibl ar fesurau Psalmau Dafydd yn drefnus wedi gyfansoddi, mal y gellir ar fyrr o amser gofio y pyngciau pennaf o'r Ysgrythyr lân: Trwy waith a llafur R. J. Chwiliwch yr Scrythyrau, Jo. 5, 37. Clodforaf di, O Arglwydd, ym mysc y bobloedd, Canmolaf di im mysc y cenhedloedd. Ps. 57. 9. Moliant Iehofa a gân Richard Jones. Printiedig yn-Ghaer Ludd gan T. H. ar gôst yr Awdur, ac ydynt i werth gan E. Brewster tan Arwydd y Garan ym mynwent Paŭl 1655."

And the Latin title reads: "Gemma Cambri: Seu Mnemonica Bibliorum Carmine Britannico ita Concinnata, ut intra pauculos menses Sacrarum Literarum flores memoriâ teneat pius Lector. Operâ & studio Rich: Jonesii A.M. [Jo. 5. 39 quoted in Greek and Ps. 57. 9 in Hebrew] London, Typis T. H. impensis Authoris &c. Extant apud Edwardum Brewster, sub insigne Gruis in Cemeterio Paulino, 1655." This Latin title-page is dedicated to "Johanni Owen. S.S. Theologiæ doctor uni Senatorum Angliae &c. . . . . Tuus humilimus, In Christo Ministerio Indiginisimus Servus Ri: Jonesius." (Dr. John Owen was bishop of St. Asaph, 1629-51, and had presented Richard Jones to Llanfair C.E.)

Then follow directions for the industrious learner to read and pronounce the British language; a letter to the Reader, which is

signed Ri : Jones, and dated *Kalend Awst*, 1655; a commendatory letter by James Howell "to my reverend and learned countryman;" Encomiasticks on the author and his book [by] Mi : Roberts S.T.D.; 'To the Printer' by Theod. Wynne and Sydnaeus Ellis; to the author by Maurice Morgan; At yr Awdur ai waith [gan] Jo. Wynne G. yr Efengyl; Achrosticon Gymraeg [gan] Jo. Richard V.D.M., and "Odl i gofio llyfrau'r Hen Destament." The text occupies pages 1-140, and on page 141 is a poem entitled *The Author's Son's Vision*, signed Ed. Jones. Pages 143-4, which end the book, contain *Rhan or* 119 *Psalm.*

At a meeting of the Commissioners, July 17, 1650, the fifths of the parish of Llanfair Caereinion were granted to the wife and children of Richard Jones,[1] after his deprivation of that living, in the same year.[2] Our author must have died at the end of 1655 or the beginning of 1656, because his son in the above mentioned *Vision*, which appears at the end of the book, writes:

> Behold! me thinks I see sad objects all
> Men-like in sable mourning clad: they call,
> And say, be gone, thy aged Father's dead
> Thy patient mother mov'd with passion led
> Bewails her husbands death, her children stand
> About her seven condole; put to thy hand,
> Make up the eighth, and fitting things prepare
> To solemnise his Funeral Rites; that are
> Emblems of love, and duties to the dead,
> And let him sleep awhile in earthly bed.

It is evident from this that Richard Jones of Llanfair Caereinion died before his last work *Perl y Cymro* was issued from the press.

We now proceed to mention the works of his namesake, **Richard Jones of Denbigh,** who was born at Llansannan in 1604, educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1628-9, and M.A. in 1633.[3] He was appointed by the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers under Cromwell schoolmaster of the Free School at Denbigh, a post which he held till his death, in 1673. He was a man of considerable learning and noted piety, and Welsh literature is indebted to him for four

[1] *Rawlinson MS. C.* 261, under that date (Bodleian Library, Oxford).
[2] The record exists in the same MS. [3] *Alumni Oxonienses.*

translations, three of them the work of Baxter, and the other the work of Gouge. His writings appeared after the death of his namesake, for the first of them is dated 1659. It is a translation into excellent Welsh of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, and its Welsh title is *Galwad i'r Annychweledig*, printed in London, 1659. Another book by Baxter entitled *A Winding Sheet for Popery* was translated and published in 1672, under the title, "*Amdo i Babyddiaeth, o waith Richard Baxter, Catholic. Printiedig yn Llundain gan J.D. dros Edward Brewster*, 1672." He also translated for Gouge his *Christian Directions to walk with God*, which was issued in 1675, at Gouge's expense, under the title *Hyfforddiadau Christianogol*, printed in London. His fourth and last work was his translation of Baxter's *Now or Never*, which was published in 1677 under the title *Bellach neu Byth.* Calamy states that Richard Jones died on August 15th, 1673, at Denbigh.[1]

A book entitled "Defosiwnau priod, Printiedig yn Llundain, i Richard Marriot, ym monwent Eglwys St. Dunstan, 1655," appeared in 1655-6. It has a fuller title, viz., "Defosiwn priod, Wedi ei cymhwyso i bum rhan gweddi: sef i. Cyffes. ii. Rhagddeisyfiad. iii. Deisyfiad. iv. Talu-diolch. v. Erfyniad. Ac Arch arbenig tros y clâf. A Chynghorieu a gweddiau ar ddydd yr Arglwydd, o flaen Cymmun, erbyn dydd marwolaeth, a dydd y farn. A Dwy weddi beunyddiol, sef boreuol a phrydnhawnol: Wedi ei cyfiaethu yn Gymraec, Trwy waith W. L. M. A. Rhuf. ii. 14. Llundain [by the same Printers] 1656."

There is a Latin dedication to this work by "G. L." to Thomas Myddleton, and Latin lines to the author, Dr. Valentine, by "R. E. M. A. Oxon., J. B. M. A. Oxon., and D. T. M. A. Oxon."

It is only a small book of 33 pages, and Dr. Valentine, the original author, was minister of Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, in the time of Charles I. The translator is said by Gwilym Lleyn[2] to have been John Owen, an Anglesey man, but it is hard to say how he makes this correspond with the title-page, which definitely states that it was translated by W. L. M. A. The author

[1] *Calamy's Account, &c.*, 2nd Edit., vol. ii. p. 844. [2] *Llyf. y Cymry*, p. 169.

was evidently an Oxford man, and three others of that University gave their benison to the work by writing Latin lines in its commendation, which would seem to indicate that W. L. was a man of some standing at the University. In Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* is the record of one William Lewys from Co. Merioneth, of Hart Hall, B.A. 1608; Fellow of Oriel, 1608; M.A. 1612; Provost of Oriel, 1617-21;[1] D.D. 1627. From 1627-43 he was master of the Hospital of St. Cross, which was a Church appointment, and again after the Restoration, 1660 to 1667, the year of his death.

The hiatus 1643-1660 is explained thus in the *Alumni*: "He lost these preferments in the time of the Rebellion, and fled beyond seas, but was restored on his Majesty's return, and died in the hospital of St. Cross, 1667." William Lewys' deprivation is also mentioned by Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, where he is stated to have been made Prebend of Winchester after the Restoration. Under the Commonwealth, the estate of one, Dr. William Lewis, of Llanwyvy [Llanddwywe] in Merionethshire, was declared forfeited for treason by an act of Nov. 18, 1652.[2]

Although there is no sure ground of proof, it is not unlikely that William Lewys, Fellow and Provost of Oriel, was responsible for this little work. It would explain the interest taken in it by other members of the University, and it may be that his deprivation and exile had turned his mind, as it did that of so many others, to the publication of devotional literature which would benefit his countrymen.

In 1657 appeared "Cerbyd Jechydwriaeth. Neu Prif Bynguiau Crefydd Gristonogawl wedi eu egluro a'u gosod allan. 1. Yn gyntaf, mewn Sententiau a Rheolau awdyrdodol. 2. Yn nesaf, mewn cyd-ymddiddan trwy ymholion ac attebion. Printiedig yn-ninas Llundain, gan Sarah Griffin, dros Philip Chetwind, 1657."

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. p. 77, states that he was advanced to this post by a party of his own countrymen, and afterwards forced to resign, "being too young for that office," and then to have gone beyond the seas in the King's service. He took part with Buckingham in the ill-fated expedition against Rochelle, and afterwards suffered much for the Royal cause, and by his sons joining the Church of Rome. [2] ibid.

The author was **Thomas Powel, D.D.,** son of John Powel, rector of Cantref, in the county of Brecon, where he was born in 1608. He went to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1625, was elected Scholar in 1627, and afterwards fellow of the same College. He took Holy Orders, and became rector of Cantref in 1635. Wood states that he suffered much during the Civil Wars, his living was sequestrated, and he fled over seas.[1] On the return of Charles II., he was restored to his benefice, became a Doctor of Divinity, and Canon of St. David's. He died Dec. 31st, 1660, and was buried at St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet St., London. He was author of several works which are mentioned by Wood, but this was his only Welsh production, and is a small work of 39 pages. It consists of some *Annotations* which appear at the latter end of his book "*Quadriga Salutis*: or, the four general Heads of Christian Religion surveyed and explained. London, 1657." Octavo.

Powel is described in the *History of Oxford Writers* as "a Person well vers'd in several sorts of Learning, was an able Philosopher, a curious Critic, was well skill'd in various Languages, and not to be contemn'd for his knowledge in Divinity."[2]

His first work, *Elementa Opticæ*, published in London, 1651, was "commended to the world by the copies of verses of *Olor Iscanus* and *Eugenius Philalethes* his Brother,"[3] both of them Breconshire residents and natives. He also translated some works from Italian into English, and from French into English. Wood states also that "he left behind him a MS. of his composition unpublished, entitled *Fragmenta de rebus Britannicis*—a short account of the Lives, Manners, and Religion of the *British* Druids and the Bards, &c."

His letter preceding *Cerbyd Jechydwriaeth*, "At fy anwyl Gyd-wlad-wyr y Cymru," shows that he could write fairly good Welsh prose, as the following quotation illustrates:

"Pan ddaeth attal a rhwystr arnom i bregethu'r Efengyl yn

[1] *Athen: Oxon*: ii., p. 254. [2] ibid. [3] ibid.

eich plith, yr oeddem yn byrw am wneuthur daioni i chwi, y modd goreu ac y gallem er na allem eu wneuthur y modd goreu ac y dymunem. Pan y gostegwyd y tafod, yr hwn oedd (unwaith) fel pin Sgrifennydd bûan, rhaid oedd i wneuthur y pin scryfen i wasanaethu yn lle'r tafod, i beri'r llaw i efengylu yn lle'r geneu, ac i Scryfennu attoch y pethau nid oedd rydd i lefaru wrthych. Dyma'r achos y danfonnwyd y Traethiad byr hwn yn eich mysc, sef i gyfarwyddo rhai, ac i gynnal eraill yn yr iniawn ffordd, a'r gowir ffydd." [1]

Elis Lewis of Llwyngwern, in Merionethshire, was a gentleman of culture who, at the request of Mrs. Catherine Anwyl, of Park, Llanfrothen, translated Drexelius' work *On Eternity* into simple and clear Welsh prose, under the title *Ystyriaethau Drexelius ar Dragywyddoldeb*, published in 1661. He says in the preface that Oxford scholars had "edited and corrected" his little book for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. A number of *englynion* precedes the work, written in praise of the book and its translator, by "John Vaughan, Elis Anwyl, Wiliam Phylipp, Gruffydd Phylip, and Edward Morris," which is a proof that Elis Lewis was well known to the leading bards of his day in Gwynedd.[2] The book is dedicated "I'r Ddiwair a'r rinweddol bendefiges, Mrs. Catherin Anwyl unig ferch Sir John Owen o'r Clenenau, a chywely yn ddiweddar i'r Urddasol Esq., Mr. Robert Anwyl o'r *Parc*, yr hwn a alwodd Duw am dano." Very little is known of the translator, but he was a good Welsh writer, and the book contains passages of great beauty.

Its full title is: "Ystyriaethau Drexelius ar Dragywyddoldeb. Gwedi ei gyfieithu yn gyntaf yn Saesonaeg gan Dr. R. Winterton, ac yr awr-hon yn Gymraeg gan Elis Lewis, o'r Llwyn-gwern, yn sir Feirion, Wr-bonheddig. Printiedig yn Rhydychen gan Hen. Hall, tros Rich. Davies, ac a werthir yn ei shop ef yn heol St. Mair, yn ymyl Oriel Col. 1661." It contains 377 pages of text, and on the last page is printed: "Ar Dragywyddoldeb nid oes un Terfyn." Then follows a page of *corrigenda*, and 14 pages

[1] Charles Ashton's *Hanes Llen. Gymreig*, p. 51. [2] ibid, p. 55.

containing prayers. The preface, which is rather long, takes up 36 pages, and the whole work is a very neat little volume of 428 pages. It contains nine meditations, each dealt with in three chapters. The subjects of meditation are: i. What eternity is. ii. How Nature presents the truth to us. iii. How the *Romans* chiefly prepared for it. iv. How David meditated upon it, and how we should. v. How others, even evil-doers, meditate upon it. vi. How Holy Scriptures teach us to ponder it. vii. How Christians depict it. viii. How Christians should inwardly examine themselves concerning it. ix. The seven purposes of these meditations on Eternity.

Dr. Edward Wynn (?-1669), the son and last heir male of Bodewryd, Anglesey, contributed to Welsh literature in 1662 a work entitled: "Trefn Ymarweddiad y Gwir Gristion, neu Lwybr hyffordd i'r Cymro i rodio arno beunydd gyda Duw. Gan Edward Wynn, D.D. Llundain, 1662." The author had been educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. and D.D. In 1644, he was presented by his uncle, Bishop Owen of St. Asaph, to the living of Llanymawddwy, in Merionethshire, on the death of Dr. Davies of Mallwyd, whom he had served as curate, and whose widow he subsequently married. Dr. Edward Wynn was also grandson to Bishop Robert Morgan, of Bangor. He held various livings in St. Asaph and Bangor, of which he was deprived in 1650-1.[1] But after the Restoration he became Rector of Llanllechid, in 1662; Canon of St. Asaph, and Chancellor of Bangor. He also had the livings of Llanarmon and Llangeinwen. In 1668 he was appointed to Llaneugrad, Anglesey. He died December 17th, 1669, and was buried at Llangaffo, in Anglesey. He is mentioned as having subscribed £50 to the fund for improving Bangor Cathedral, and was also an ardent educationalist, as instanced in his founding of a school at Holyhead, and of a bursary of £6 per annum at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he himself had been educated.

[1] The following entry occurs in the Account of the Administration of the Act for the Propagation, &c. in North Wales (Cardiff, 1908, p. 29): "Mr. Edward Wynne, Rector of Llanymouthwy, ejected then for scandall," *i.e.*, at Welshpool, on June 18th, 1651.

It should be noticed that the one book he published was an original work, and not a translation. It is prefaced by an address to the parishioners of Llangeinwen and Llangaffo. A second edition of it was issued in 1723-4.[1]

The next writer in order of date is **Rondl Davies** or Randolph Davies (?- 1695), M.A., who was collated Vicar of Meifod and Sinecure Rector of Cwm by Bishop George Griffith, in 1661.[2] This collation must refer to his reinstatement after the Restoration, for he had previously held the vicarage of Meifod. His marriage is chronicled in the registers of that parish in 1648, and in the entry he is stated to be vicar of the parish. It runs as follows: "Matrimonium legitimum contrat. fuit inter Randolphum Davies vicarium hujus parochiæ et Mariam filiam Johannis Williams clerici, 10° die Junii, 1648." The same registers contain the baptismal entries of several of his children born between 1649 and 1666, for instance, "Johannes filius Randolphi Davies Vicarii hujus parochiæ baptiz. fuit 8° Julii, 1651." Archdeacon Thomas states that he was deprived by the Parliamentary sequestrators,[3] and mentions that one, Stephen Lewis, M.A., was put into that parish as vicar of Meifod in 1649, and that there is a great difference in the style and spelling in the registers as from that date. This is supported by the record in the *Alumni Oxonienses*, which gives Stephen Lewis as Vicar of Meifod, 1649. These statements are very hard to reconcile, unless it is that Randolph Davies continued to reside in the parish after his sequestration, and was allowed out of courtesy to use his former title.

Rowlands' Cambrian Bibliography attributes to him part authorship in a book reputed to have been published in 1660, under the title "Cowir a ffyddlon ateb i Lyfr a enwir ychydig Gyfarwyddiadau i'r Cymru yn erbyn y Cyfeiliorni sydd yn mysg y bobl a elwir Cwacers, yn yr hon y mae yr awdwr di henw yn dangos i yspryd maleusus a chenfigenus yn erbyn pobl Dduw.

[1] *Manual of W. Lit.*, p. 165; C. Ashton *Hanes Llen. Gymreig*, p. 57; *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 189. [2] Edwards' Edn. of Brown Willis' *Survey of St. Asaph*, ii., pp. 268, 393. [3] *Hist. of Diocese of St. Asaph*, ii., p. 50.

Gyda gwahoddiad i'r Cymru truain fel y byddo yddynt uno goleini Crist oddimewn uddynt, a rhodio yntho. Oddiwrthym ni, y rhai mae y byd drygionus mewn gwawd yn i galw Cwacers. Chandler, & Crook, & Rondl Davies, & Evans. London." From this it would appear that Rondl Davies favoured the Quakers, and was himself a Quaker, but this is altogether inconsistent with the attitude he adopts towards the Quakers and others in a work published by him in 1675, of which there can be no doubt that he is the author. It has two title-pages, the first in English, the second in Welsh, as follows :

"A Tryall of the Spirits, or a Discovery of False Prophets, and a Caveat to beware of them; or a Short Treatise on 1 John iv., 1. Wherein is discovered, by the light of God's Word, expounded by antiquity, that several Doctrines of the Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers, are disagreeable to the Holy Scripture, and carefully to be avoided by every man that loves the Salvation of his Soul. *Pro Ecclesia clamitant, et contra Ecclesiam dimicant.* Cypr."

"Profiad yr Ysprydion, neu Ddatcuddiad Gau Athrawon, a Rhybudd i'w gochelyd. Neu Draethawd byrr ar 1 St. Jo. 4. 1. O waith Rondl Davies, Meistr yn y Celfyddydau, a Ficar Meifod. Ym mha un y Datcuddir drwy oleini Gair Duw, Esboniedig gan hynafiaeth, fod amryw athrawiaethau y Pabistiaid, y Presbyteriaid, yr Independentiaid, a'r Cwaceriaid, yn anghysson â'r Yscrythyr Lân, ac o herwydd hynny i'w gochelyd gan bob dyn sydd yn caru Iechydwriaeth ei enaid. Rhydychen. Printiedig gan H. Hall, ym mlwyddyn yr Arglwydd 1675."[1]

Gwallter Mechain relates a story which throws light on the condition of the parish of Meifod during Rondl Davies' incumbency.[2] The Quakers had gained ground there considerably, and there was a Quaker chapel at Coed Cowryd, near Dolobran. Richard Davies, of Cloddiau Cochion, in the parish of Llanfyllin, Charles Thomas, and Samuel Lloyd, of Dolobran, were pillars in the Quaker cause in the immediate neighbourhood. A writer in

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 203. [2] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, iii., p. 103.

the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (vol. i., p. 325) states that "during his incumbency Quakerism had made a considerable schism in his fold." So it is reasonable to conclude that Rondl Davies would be much concerned at the spread of what he clearly regarded as erroneous doctrine, and this book would be the outcome of his cogitations on the matter. This makes it all the more unlikely that he could have had any part in the production of the publication purported to have appeared in 1660.

His book *Profiad yr Ysprydion* is dedicated to Edward Vaughan, Esq., of Llwydiarth. It contains 14 pages of preface, 237 pages of text, and seven pages at the end which contain short addresses in Latin to the author, and also a French ode to the same.

The entry of his death is thus recorded in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*: "Dom̃ Ranulphus Davies Cler̃ de Peniarth Sepultus 25° Feb. 1695."[1]

James Owen was the author of two original works in Welsh, published towards the end of the century; *Trugaredd a Barn* which appeared in 1687, and became very popular, and a less known work entitled *Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd*, published in 1693. He was the son of John Owen of Bryn, in the parish of Abernant, near Carmarthen, the birth place of James Howell. He was born in 1654, and educated first in a school kept by James Picton, a Quaker, who grounded him in classics, and afterwards at the Grammar School of his native town. Instead of proceeding to Oxford, having leanings towards Nonconformity, he went in 1672 to a small seminary kept by one Samuel Jones, Bryn Llwyarch, Llangynwyd, Glamorganshire, where he remained four years, and made great progress in languages.[2] Afterwards he returned home and established a school in Carmarthen. He began his ministerial career as an auxiliary to Stephen Hughes at Swansea, but under the influence of Henry Maurice, a native of Lleyn in Carnaryonshire, he was persuaded to undertake work at Bodfel, near Pwllheli, where, after nine months, his position

[1] Vol. i., p. 325. [2] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 237.

became very difficult, and he dared not stir from his house. Escaping thence, he came to Bron-y-Clydwr, in Merionethshire, and was welcomed there by Hugh Owen, a Nonconformist preacher of some note. In 1676 he was invited to become chaplain to Mrs. Baker, at Swinney, near Oswestry. He often suffered persecution and was once imprisoned at Caerwys in Flintshire, but was released on appeal. In 1679 he married an Oswestry lady and removed there, and was granted a licence to preach in that town by the Court at Denbigh. While at Oswestry he had a public discussion with Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, on the necessity or otherwise of Episcopal Orders, on Sept. 27th, 1681. The learned Henry Dodwell took part with the Bishop, and Philip Henry, of Broad Oak, and Jonathan Roberts, of Llanfair, with James Owen.[1] A large number of the neighbouring gentry and others assembled to hear the debate, which lasted for six hours, and good temper was shown on both sides.

James Owen, after starting an academy for ministerial students at Oswestry, sometime afterwards removed to Shrewsbury, and continued his school there from 1700 to 1706, during which time he was also minister of High Street Chapel in that town. He died in 1706 at the age of 52, and was buried in St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury.[2] His funeral sermon was preached by the celebrated Matthew Henry. His brother, Charles Owen, wrote his biography in English, and published it in 1709.

James Owen was the author of a considerable number of English publications, but his Welsh writings were few. The full title of his chief work is:

"Trugaredd a Barn neu yn agos i Drichant o Siampleu rhyfeddol o farnedigaethau Duw ar yr Annuwiol, Ac o drugareddau nodedig i'r Duwiol, mewn amryw wledydd ac oesoedd; Gydâ llawer o Ystorieu buddiol eraill, wedi eu casglu allan o Ysgrifeniadau gwyr Dysgedig:

[1] *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig* (C. Ashton), p. 79. [2] *Gwyddoniadur Cym.*, pp. 166-169. See also article in *D. N. B.*

Er dychryn i'r Drygionus,
Er cyssur i'r Daionus,
Ac er rhybudd i Bawb.

Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan R. Lathrop, lle y gellir cael Printio pob math ar Gopiau am bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau Cymraeg a Saesnaeg."

The date of the book is fixed by Stephen Hughes in his preface to *Taith y Pererin*, London, January 10, 168$\frac{7}{8}$, in which he mentions *Trugaredd a Barn* as a good book, "yr hwn a brintiwyd *yr hâf* diweddaf."

The author also dates his letter to the Reader, "Llundain, Mehefin 4ydd, 1687," and signs it "Dy gydwladwr J. O." The chief criticism directed against it is that it is full of superstition. Gwallter Mechain referred to it as "y casgliad ofergoelus hwnnw."[1]

About 1691 there was considerable discussion between the Independents and the Baptists concerning Infant baptism. John Jenkins, Rhydwilym, championed adult baptism, and Samuel Jones, of Bryn Llywarch, was asked to reply on behalf of the Independents. He failed to comply, and his place was taken by his former pupil, James Owen, who, in 1693, published "Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd, neu Draethawd ar Natur a Diben Bedydd. Yn profi, Trwy ddeuddeg o Ressymau Scrythuraidd y dylid bedyddio plant y ffyddloniaid." His brother, Charles Owen, afterwards translated this work into English, under the title: "The Infant's Ark, or Infant Baptism proved by XII Arguments, translated out of the British tongue by Charles Owen, V.D.M."

Benjamin Keach replied to James Owen's book, and his answer was translated into Welsh, and published in 1696, under the title: "Goleuni wedi torri allan yng Nghymru . . . . Gan gynnwys atteb i Lyfr, yr hwn a elwir *Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd* . . . . Ac yn profi hefyd mai bedydd yw soddiad yr holl gorph mewn dwfr . . . . ac nad yw neb yn ddeiliaid bedydd ond y Credadwy yn unig." The translator is thought to have been Robert Morgan, of Swansea, a friend of Benjamin Keach. James

[1] *Gwallter Mechain's Works*, ii., p. 304.

Owen's *Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd* was the first book in Welsh on the Baptist controversy.[1] His other works are: "A Plea for Scripture Ordination, 1694;" *Tutamen Evangelicum*, 1697; "Moderation a Virtue," 1703; "The History of the Consecration of Altars," 1706; "Vindiciae Britannicae," 1706. He also translated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism into Welsh in 1701, and supplied Calamy with material for his account of the Welsh ejected Divines.

Hugh Owen (H. O.), of Gwenynog, Anglesey, translated in 1684 the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas á Kempis. The title-page is as follows:

"Dilyniad | Christ | a elwir yn gyffredin | Thomas a Kempis | Gwedi ei gyfieithu 'n Gymraec ers | talm o amser yn ol Editiwn | yr Awdur gan | Huw Owen | Gwenynoc ym Mon, Esq. | . . . . Llundain | Gwedi ei imprintio ar gost I. H. | MDCLXXXIV."

The original work is generally attributed to Thomas á Kempis, but there are different opinions as to its authorship, Gerson and Walter Hilton both being mentioned, amongst others, as possible authors. The question is discussed at some length in J. E. G. de Montmorency's "Thomas á Kempis: His Age and Book," but the latest researches show that á Kempis' title to the authorship is at least as clear as that of the others mentioned.

Thomas á Kempis was born in 1379, at Kempen, near Cologne, and spent most of his life in seclusion in the poor monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, where he died in 1471, having composed many devotional books. Europe was full of religious strife at that time, and a rival pope had been set up at Avignon, but á Kempis, rapt in meditation, was undisturbed by outward happenings, having turned his back not only on the world but also on the worldliness, which, at that time, had eaten into the life of the Roman Church.

In the original Latin, this work was metrical in form, and, perhaps, for this reason it was at first generally known as *Musica*

[1] *D. N. B.*

Ecclesiastica. A metrical translation of the work was issued in English in 1889. Hugh Owen, of Gwenynog, was the first to translate it into Welsh, in 1684.

The editor mentions in his preface three translations, the respective work of the Roman priests, Matthew Turberville, Thomas Jeffreys, and Huw Parry, but as far as is known, these are not now extant, and it is stated that none of the three were published. The editor of this first translation into Welsh was Father John Hughes, who was born in Anglesey in 1615, and died at Holywell in 1686. He tells us in the preface that Hugh Owen, the translator, was owner of a small patrimony in Anglesey, and afterwards steward on the Bodeon Estate in Anglesey, to Sir Hugh Owen, and was a man much respected both owing to his faithfulness to religion and his diligence in improving the land. The preface further states that he translated other books, and amongst them *Llyfr y Resolusion*, thirty years before Dr. John Davies' translation appeared, and when the author was only 27 years old. On this reckoning, Hugh Owen was born *c* 1575. His *Dilyniad Crist* is a book of xx.+448 pages, and is a literal translation, and as such is rather cumbersome and lacking in flexibility, as one might expect. The translation of W. M. A. B., which appeared in 1723, under the title *Pattrwm y Gwir Gristion: neu Ddilyniad Iesu Grist*, is a vast improvement on Hugh Owen's work. Five other editions have since appeared, *viz.*, those of 1829, 1859, 1872, 1905, and 1908, the last under the editorship of the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A. Some of them bear the imprint, after the name of the translator (Hugh Owen) "Gwenydog ym Mon Esq.," and "Gweinydog ym Mon." This is, of course, a mistake for Gwenynog, the name of his residence, but it led to much confusion.[1]

One of the most eminent and industrious literary Welshmen of the seventeenth century was **Charles Edwards** concerning whom, unfortunately, much still remains to be discovered. For

[1] See *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1897-8, pp. 13, 14; and Introduction to the 1908 edn. by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis.

instance, it is only a matter of conjecture where he received his early education, and the later details of his life are also shrouded in obscurity. As Mr. Ivor James complained in his article in the *Traethodydd* (1886), "Y mae rhyw gaddug wedi ei guddio er ys talm." Mr. R. J. Prys puts Charles Edwards in the same category as Bishop Morgan, Bishop Davies, Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, and Goronwy Owen, and perhaps this estimate as to his literary ability is very near the mark. Such details of his life as are known are the following: The records of All Soul's College, Oxford, state that he was entered there as Bible Clerk in 1644,[1] aged 16, which gives 1628 as the year of his birth. His father is described as a plebeian, and is generally supposed to have been Robert Edwards, of Cynlleth, Rhydycroesau, Denbighshire. Charles Edwards himself, in his autobiography, "An afflicted man's Testimony concerning his Troubles," says nothing of his father, mother, family connections, birthplace, or education, but he incidentally mentions that he studied at Oxford. To matriculate at the University at 16, meant that he must have received a good early education. The nearest Grammar School to Rhydycroesau would be either Ruthin or Oswestry, but it would be conjecture only to state that he went to either of these. There were eleven Grammar Schools in Gwynedd before the outbreak of the Civil War, so that his choice would not be limited in this respect. The Warden of Ruthin (Dr. Lloyd) at the time was a Fellow of All Soul's College, and it is not unlikely that if Charles Edwards went there he owed his Bible Clerkship at that College to him. As a youth he seems to have been thoughtful beyond his years. For in his autobiography he states that he went through "very piercing inward troubles," that he "spent many an hour in secret pensiveness," and that he "took a resolution to serve God more carefully" than he had done. At Oxford his record is one of almost ceaseless struggle both of mind and body. He tells us that he was "prostrated by fever," and he describes the harassing time he was put to when the Parliamentary visitors

[1] *Alumni Oxonienses*; and *Traethodydd* (1886), p. 284; also *D. N. B.*

made their inquisition of the University in 1647-8. The students were asked to submit to Parliament, and Charles Edwards' answer was that he was willing to do so "as far as he lawfully could." This was construed as contempt, and he was expelled from All Souls' on June 11th, 1647. He was, however, through the efforts of his friends, elected to a Scholarship at Jesus College on October 27th, 1648. In the following June he was put to a further test. "I was appointed," he writes, "to make a Latin declamation in praise of clemency . . . and I did it as effectually as I could." It was a difficult task to set a man who had suffered so much at the hands of the Visitors, and apparently he failed to give satisfaction. Rather pathetically he writes: "Whether my discourse of clemency promised me severity I cannot tell, but sure I am that soon after it was used towards me." However, he proceeded to his B.A. degree in 1649, and the same year became Honorary Fellow and Bible Reader. Some time later he was ejected from Oxford and withdrew to Denbighshire, where he married. In 1650 he was engaged by the Commissioners of North Wales under the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel" at a salary of £60 per annum.[1] In 1653 the sinecure of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant was conferred upon him, and he held it until the Restoration in 1660, when he was deprived, and Bishop George Griffith of St. Asaph took possession. Charles Edwards had had frequent trouble with his parishioners, who petitioned the Protector against him, on the ground that he was unfaithful to the Government and insufficient for the work. He had, however, met these charges successfully. After his deprivation in 1660, nothing seems to be known of him until 1666, but presumably he continued to live at Llanrhaiadr. In that year, he relates that a company of soldiers broke into his house and haled him to prison. He was soon released, but on his return he found that one of his children had died through fright. Hugh Salisbury

[1] At a meeting at Wrexham, 21st November, 1650: "Ordered yt 60l per ann. be payd to Mr. Charles Edwards for his officiating in ye like worke," p. 26, in *Cymdeithas Llen Cymru's* issue of the Proceedings of the Commission in N. Wales. (Cardiff, 1908).

composed an *englyn* to the dead child. From this point, Charles Edwards seems to have been engulfed in domestic troubles, which ultimately led to separation from his wife. His words are: "My wife importuned me to part from her and live asunder." His children also turned against him, "being discouraged in their obedience by the many injuries they saw inflicted on me, they became undutiful."

He returned to Oxford before the end of 1666, and devoted himself mainly to Welsh literature. His first work, "Hanes y Ffydd," was published at Oxford in that year. For the next four or five years he was busy correcting and augmenting this work, the contents of which show that he had drunk deeply of the spirit of William Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*. It appeared in 1671, with a Latin commendation by Michael Roberts, formerly Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. It was really an amended and enlarged edition of *Hanes y Ffydd*, and must be regarded as a second edition of that work. Its full title is:

"Y Ffydd Ddi-ffvant. Adroddiad o Helynt y Grefydd Gristianogol er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon, a phrofiad o'i gwirionedd a'i rhinwedd. The unfeigned Faith. Containing a Briefe History of the Christian Religion from the beginning of the World to this present Age, and a proofe of its veritie and efficacie. Yr ail-printiad gyd ag anghwanegiad.

Printiedig yn Rhydychen gan Hen: Hall, ac a werthir gan lyfrwyr Gwrecsam a Llanfyllin: a chan Mr. Gor [page torn] yn Ghaer-Fyrddyn, a Mr. Vertue yn Abergavenny, ac ymhen y bont ar ogwr. 1671."

The third edition "with augmentation" appeared in 1677. The book is an original work, and not a translation, as so many productions of this period were. Although it is plain that he derived much of his inspiration from Chillingworth's book, this has not affected the originality of his work. It is a kind of history of Christianity, and is full of interesting, but not always reliable information respecting the tenets of the ancient Welsh bards, whose orthodoxy Charles Edwards stoutly maintained, and

attempted to prove by extracts from their works. He also shows that the primitive British Church was independent of Rome. He shared with John Lewis, of Glasgrug, and Dr. John Ellis, of Dolgelley, the honour of being amongst the first to conceive the idea of a national college for Wales, and gives expression to his desire to see such an institution established. The *Ffydd Ddiffuant* is sufficient in itself to show that he was a man of more than ordinary attainments, and many will agree with the late Dr. L. Edwards, who, upon quoting one of its most noted passages, wrote: "Onid yw y dyfyniad hwn yn profi mai nid dyn cyffredin oedd Charles Edwards?"

In 1671 he edited and published the second edition of Maurice Kyffin's *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, under the title *Dad-seiniad Meibion y Daran*, together with Bishop Davies' *Epistol at y Cembru*; and in 1675 he edited and corrected the third edition of Rowland Vaughan's *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb*. This was published by Gouge's Trust. In that same year he published his curious little book, of which several editions have appeared, in which he attempts to prove the Hebrew origin of the Welsh language. It is entitled *Hebraicorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen*. It was also in 1671 that he corrected for the press the *Hyfforddiadau Christianogol*, a translation by Richard Jones, of Denbigh. In 1682 he edited and improved Robert Llwyd's *Llwybr Hyffordd*, and in 1684 he produced a second edition of Dr. John Davies' *Llyfr y Resolusion*. In 1686 he published a work in English, under the title "Fatherly Instructions: being Select Pieces of the Writings of the Primitive Christian Fathers, with an Appendix Intituled Gildas Minimus." The translations in this work were direct from the original Greek and Latin. About this time he seems to have eked out a precarious livelihood as a bookseller, for in *Fatherly Instructions* he states "British books are to be had with the publisher hereof." There are two letters appended to this work: (1) To the honoured persons in city and country that were lately trustees for charitable

works in Wales. (2) To my kindred and acquaintances in the Counties of Salop and Denbigh and elsewhere.

The last book he published was his autobiography in 1691. He called it *An afflicted man's testimony concerning his troubles*, which has been already noticed. There was a great mystery in his life, which no one, thus far, has been able to clear up. What was it that estranged him from all men, from his parishioners at Llanrhaiadr, from his wife and children, and from that gentle soul Stephen Hughes? The question remains unanswered. His last book, which is a kind of *Apologia*, throws no light on it, because in it he took it for granted that everyone knew. Why was he the object of so much malevolence? He states that attempts were made on his life by poison, and that the hands of all men were against him.

Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Baxter had once been numbered amongst his friends, and he had done good service to Mr. Gouge. Something cooled the friendship of all these towards him. Was it the result of a morbid imagination, or did he suffer from hallucinations? One can hardly believe this from a study of his works, for in them is found no sign of abnormal tendencies. The problem must, perhaps, remain unsolved for all time. There is no record, so far, of the year of his death. It is very difficult to state what his religious views were. But it is quite certain that he never received Episcopal Orders. On the other hand, his Nonconformity was not very pronounced. His record at Llanrhaiadr was that he preached as an itinerant, catechised the children on Sunday, and held monthly fasts on a week-day in public and private. His tenets are supposed to have been more in agreement with those of Dr. John Owen than with those of Mr. Richard Baxter. Can it be that his own words throw the best light on his life at every stage? "Fe'm cyhuddid fel yn anfoddog at y pethau oeddynt y pryd hynny yn bod." He was a man out of harmony with the times in which he lived and the circumstances in which he found himself.

Closely associated with Charles Edwards for many years in

the movement to supply Welshmen with edifying books in their own language was **Stephen Hughes** (1622-1688). Both had co-operated in what may be called the Gouge Movement for the enlightenment of the Cymry. Thomas Gouge had lent his powerful personality and his wealth to this movement; Charles Edwards had placed his literary powers at its disposal; Stephen Hughes, in addition to his literary powers, possessed the more distinctly Cymric characteristic of burning eloquence, and a missionary zeal which was rivalled by none in this century. He saw the importance of Gouge's movement, and was one of the first to help him, and to him it is due that it developed in a Cymric direction rather than into a movement to teach Welsh children the English tongue, for that was what naturally suggested itself to Thomas Gouge.

Stephen Hughes was born at Carmarthen in 1622, and was the son of John Hughes, who is described as a silk merchant (sidanydd) in that town,[1] who was also an Alderman of the borough, and was twice Mayor, in 1650, and in 1660, the year of his death.[2] His mother was Elizabeth Bevan, daughter of a tanner in the same town, and the latter also sat on the Alderman's bench and was twice elected Mayor of Carmarthen. Stephen Hughes was the second son, and although there is no record of his early education, the town of Carmarthen provided excellent facilities in that respect in its Grammar School, and probably he was educated there. It is not known whether he proceeded to either of the Universities. No record of him exists there, nor is there any trace of his having received episcopal ordination. In 1655 he was appointed to the benefice of Meidrym. In his introduction to "Llyfr y Ficer" he throws some light on his attitude towards the Established Church.[3]

'Rwyf yn traethu ei hathrawiaeth,
Er na *licaf* mo'i disgygblaeth;
Ond nid wyf yn cyhoeddi hynny
B'le'r rwyn arfer o bregethu.

[1] *Y Beirniad*, ii. rhif 3, p. 175. [2] ibid. [3] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, ii. p. 301.

It would seem that he had previously laboured at Merthyr. The Rev. T. Shankland has a record of his recommendation to John Rice for the living of Henllan Amgoed, in which he is styled "Stephen Hughes, Merthyr." It is dated October 27th, 1655,[1] a few days before he was put in possession of Meidrym. The inference is that he had held Merthyr from 1653 to 1657, an appointment derived from the Commissioners, for in the latter year James Davies was appointed to that benefice. Stephen Hughes' name is not mentioned amongst those appointed under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1650-53. However, it is certain that he held the living of Meidrym from the patron, David Morgan, Esq., from August 30th, 1654. In his *institution* to that benefice he is styled *Clerke*. He was licensed by the Approvers on October 26th, 1655, and there is a record dated December 20th, 1655, of his receiving an increase in income of £52 10*s.* 0*d.* per annum. His own name appears as an *Approver* on the certificate of William Jones, Cilmaenllwyd, February 25th, 1655, and also on several others. Through his petition, David Jones received the living and tithes of Llandyssilio on March 10th, 1657. His father's name also appears in documents recommending men to livings.[2]

Stephen Hughes' labours in collecting and editing the works of Vicar Prichard have already been noticed in the portion of this book which deals with the life of that worthy, and need not be repeated here. The complete work was published by him in 1681, under the title *Canwyll y Cymry*, and bound with it generally, although with a separate title, and probably issued separately, there appeared his translation of a work of Francis Pereaud, under the title "Adroddiad Cywir o'r Pethau pennaf ar a wnaeth, ac a ddwedodd Yspryd Aflan yn Mascon yn Burgundy," and Robert Holland's "Dau Gymro yn Taring," a work written against divination and sorcery.

Stephen Hughes had been deprived of the benefice of Meidrym in 1660, and nothing is known of him between that

[1] *Y Beirniad*, ii., rhif 3, p. 176. [2] ibid, p. 177.

year and 1669. He was probably in hiding part of the time, but there is no record of his suffering imprisonment, nor does his name appear in the Report of the Bishop of St. David's to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1665. Some time during this interval he married a lady from Swansea, possessed of considerable means, and there were born to them two children, Jane, who is mentioned in his will as his only daughter, and Stephen, his son, who is also mentioned, but it is not stated that he was his only son.[1]

For the last part of his life, 1670-1688, there is abundant testimony. In 1672 Chares II. proclaimed an amnesty to Nonconformists, and in that year Thomas Gouge began his labours in Wales. In 1671-72 Stephen Hughes is found in London preparing literature for circulation amongst his countrymen. It is extremely likely that he met Gouge there, and acquainted him with his projects. Probably he was instrumental above all others in deciding Gouge to transfer his efforts to Wales. He had certainly thought out the educational project for Wales before Gouge participated in it. The best proof of this is that three parts of Vicar Prichard's work were ready in 1672, and a Welsh New Testament in the same year, which was probably the most memorable year in Stephen Hughes' busy life. Two thousand copies of the *Testament Newydd* were issued, and also the following works:

1. "Catechism Mr. Perkins a osodwyd allan yn Gymraeg ys mwy na thriugain mlynedd a deg, gan Mr. Robert Holland, gweinidog Llanddyferwr [Llanddowror yn Sir Gaerfyrddin], ac ar ol hynny gan Mr. E. Ivan Roberts, gweinidog Llanbadarn Fawr yn Sir Aberteifi: Ac yn awr y drydedd waith wedi ei wneuthur yn fwy eglur i'r cyffredin bobl gan ewyllysiwr da i Gymru."
2. "Sail y Grefydd Gristnogol."
3. "Amryw Reolau Duwiol i bob Christion i'w harfer."
4. "Rhodfa feunyddiol y Christion, neu addysg fuddiol," a

[1] *Y Beirniad*, ii., rhif 3, p. 176.

translation by Richard Jones, of Denbigh, of Henry Casland's *Christian's Daily Walk.*

5. "Amdo neu Amwisc i Babyddiaeth," a translation by Richard Jones, of Denbigh, of Richard Baxter's *Winding Sheet.*

In addition to all these, he took an active part in the publication of *Holl Ddyledswydd Dyn*, in 1672, and in the dissemination of *Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant* and *Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran*, which had been published by Charles Edwards in 1671. In 1671 he added a glossary of the difficult words in *Hyfforddiadau Christianogol*, a work of Gouge's, which was translated by Richard Jones, of Denbigh, and in *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb.* In the same year, the scarcity of Bibles in the Principality spurred Gouge and Hughes to a renewed effort to bring out another edition, a work in which Archbishop Tillotson assisted. It was issued in 1677-8, and also contained *Y Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin, yr Apocrypha, a'r Salmau Cân.* In 1677, Hughes edited and issued a series of tracts in one thick volume entitled *Trysor i'r Cymru*,[1] and very probably he had a share in other reprints issued in that year.

It should be noticed that from 1672-1688 Stephen Hughes' work had been done in co-operation with Thomas Gouge. The latter saw to the schools and to the financial side of the movement. Charles Edwards and Stephen Hughes saw to the publications. The thoroughness of the latter accounts for the accuracy of the 1677-78 Bible, which is a tribute both to his scholarship and to his care. He collaborated with three others in the translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the work was issued under his editorship under the title *Taith neu Siwrnai y Pererin tan Rith neu Gyffelybiaeth Breuddwyd*, in 1688.

[1] This work contained *(a)* "Pregeth Arthur Dent ar Edifeirwch"; *(b)* "Drych i dri math o Bobl" (Oliver Thomas); *(c)* "Bellach neu Byth" (a translation of Baxter's *Now or Never*, by Richard Jones, of Denbigh). He also published, in 1677, "Cyfarwydd-deb i'r Anghyfarwydd," which contains *(a)* "Galwad i'r Annychweledig," an excellent translation by Richard Jones, of Denbigh, of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted; (b)* "Carwr y Cymru"; *(c)* "Agoriad byr i Weddi'r Arglwydd" (Robert Holland's translation of Perkins' work); *(d)* "Cannwyll Crist" (Vavasor Powell).

In all Stephen Hughes' publications he gives the Welsh alphabet. The old people generally tore it out and pasted it on a thin board, and there is no doubt it helped them considerably to learn to read. They generally referred to it as the *Llyfr Corn.*

He was preparing to bring out another edition of the Bible, and was in London superintending the work, when he was taken ill in the spring of 1687-8. He returned home, made his will on April 18, 1688, and must have died shortly afterwards, for his will was proved on July 16, 1688. He was buried in St. John's Churchyard, Swansea.

Sufficient has been said of him to give a general idea of his activity in the movement for the educational and spiritual improvement of Wales. The edition of the Bible, the last work in which he had been interested, was finished by his friend David Jones, of Llandyssilio, in 1690. His work for Wales has in recent years received something of the attention it deserves, and most students of Welsh literature are alive to the fact that he did more than any living man in the seventeenth century, through his circulation of the Scriptures and other books, to preserve the language and to elevate the tone of the nation he loved so well.

There are still a few minor writers whose work has to be chronicled to complete the record of the religious writings, which were published in this century.

William Jones (? 1609-1679), a Merionethshire man, who afterwards kept the Grammar School at Ruthin, and thence proceeded to Denbigh, where he was chaplain to Governor Twistleton, and in 1648 was put in charge of the parish, until forced to leave by the Five Mile Act, when he found refuge at Plas Teg in Flintshire, took part in the publication of *Egwyddorion y Grefydd Gristionogol yn gynnwysedig mewn Catechism Byr*, which appeared in 1664. The translator's name is not attached to the work, and Williams in his *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 376, is of opinion that James Owen was responsible for it. But he has probably confused it with another Catechism translated by that

author. Palmer states that William Jones translated it,[1] and David Jones of Llandyssilio thought so well of it that he published a second edition in 1679. It is a small work of 74 pages, containing the Presbyterian Catechism, the Nicene Creed and that of St. Athanasius, also Dr. John Davies' translation of the Thirty-nine Articles. Four *englynion* follow in praise of Mrs. M. Crowther and Mr. Caleb D'Avenant, who bore the expense of publication, signed *John Rhydderch a'i cânt.* The Catechism is divided into thirty parts, according to the days of the month.

The Trevors of Plas Teg were strong supporters of William Jones, and gave him land valued at £20 per annum to support him when he was compelled to leave Denbigh. He was once imprisoned for three months under the Conventicle Act. His last days were spent at Estyn, where he died in 1679.[2]

In 1676 he had translated and published two works by Thomas Gouge. The first he entitled "Gair i Bechaduriaid, a Gair i Sainct," the first part of which showed the importance of regeneration and the peril of remaining in sin, and the second was meant for encouragement to the godly to persevere in the path of duty. The book was printed by A. Maxwell, London, 1676.

The other work was entitled "Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Gristionogol, A agorir fel y gallo y gwannaf eu deall," issued by the same press in the same year. William Jones was one of the band of energetic Welshmen who co-operated with Thomas Gouge, and helped the movement as a translator.

John Langford, whose record in *The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*[3] is that he graduated B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford, and M.A. from Jesus College, Cambridge, was preferred to the Rectory of Efenechtyd in 1663; Derwyn, in 1672; and Llanelidan, in 1684. He was a Ruthin man by birth, and translated into Welsh *The Whole Duty of Man*, the work of Thomas Gouge, and published it in 1672 under the title "Holl Ddyledswydd

[1] *Hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru*, p. 232. [2] ibid, pp. 554-5, and *Gwaith Gwaliter Mechain*, ii. p, 303. [3] Vol. ii., p. 74.

Dyn, Gwedi ei osod ar lawr Mewn modd hynod o Eglur, Defnyddiol i bawb, ond yn enwedig i'r Darllenydd mwyaf Annyscedig. Gwedi ei ddosparthu i xvii. o Bennodau ; Y rhai trwy ddarllen un o honynt bob Dydd yr Arglwydd, a ddarllenir i gyd trostynt deirgwaith yn y Flwyddyn. Angenrheidiol i bob Teuluoedd. Ynghyd a Dwywolder Neillduol ar amryw Achosion. A gyfieithwyd yn Gymro-aeg gan J. Langford, A.M. London, Printed for R. Royston, Bookseller to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1672." There is also a separate title-page for the last part of the book: "Duwiolder Neillduol ar amryw Achosion, yn gystal Cyffredinol ac Anghyffredinol. London, Printed for R. Royston. 1672." A second edition was issued in 1711 : "Yr ail argraphiad ar ôl manwl Chwiliad a delead Beiau'r Cyntaf."

Edward Lloyd* (?-1685), of Llangower, the father of Bishop William Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and one of the nonjurors, who was born at Llangower Rectory, translated two books of the work of Bishop Patrick, the first in 1682, under the title: "Egwyddor i Rai Jevaingc i'w cymmhwyso i dderbyn y Cymmun Sanctaidd yn fuddiol. Gwaith y Parchedig a'r Dwyfol Athro Simon Patrick Deon Llanbedr yn lloegr. A gyfieithwyd o'r Saesonaeg, gan Edward Llwyd, Athro yn y Celfyddydau. Ag a Brintiwyd yn Llundain, 1682." Edward Lloyd was incumbent of Llangower, a parish on the shores of Bala Lake. He is mentioned in *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy* as one of the clergy ejected during the Commonwealth.[1] His preface, or, "Llythyr at ei Blwyfolion," is dated "O'm Stafell yn Eglwyseg Mis Medi y chyntaf, 1682." It is followed by *englynion* "Ar y Gorthrymder gynt, y bu y cyfieithydd dano, ei Warediad o hono, ac ar y Cyfieithiad," written by his nephew, Meredydd Llwyd, "er dal Cof am ei Anwyl ewythr, a'i anrhydeddus henaint." The original author, Dr. Simon Patrick, was Bishop of Ely, promoted from the

[1] Page 248 of that work. *Edward Lloyd, in the *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, iii. p. 112, is stated to have been appointed to the benefice of Llangower in 1645, and to have been deprived by the Sequestrators. He was restored in 1661, and became Vicar of Llangwm in 1664.

Deanery of Peterborough, which Edward Lloyd calls "Llanbedr yn Lloegr."

The second book Lloyd translated was not published until 1722, and was entitled: "Meddyginiaeth a Chyssur. Yr dyn helbulus, clafyccus, a thrallodus, ar ei glaf wely, a gasglwyd allan o'r Ysgrythur Sanctaidd, ac hefyd o ystorieu ac Athrawiaethau yr hen Dadau; a rhesymau y Philosophyddion, a gwyr doethion dyscedig eraill o'r cynfyd: Ac a osodwyd allan trwy lafur Edward Lloyd. Athro y celfyddydau; a gweinidog yr efengyl yn llangower, yn Sir Feirion: Er lleshâd i'w braidd y mae'n figail arnynt, ac yn oruchwyliwr i gyfrannu iddynt eu bwyd yn eu bryd, sef yw hynny, didwyll laeth y gair. 1 Pet. 2. 2. Ac ar ol hynny er budd i'r Cymru oll. Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig, gan John Rogers, 1722."

William Foulkes,* M.A., rector of Llanfyllin 1661-1691, canon of St. Asaph, sinecure rector of Cwm, rector of Llanbrynmair, and of Llanfihangel-yn-Ngwynfa, edited a small volume which appeared in 1685, of the work of Bishop George Griffith of St. Asaph, entitled, "Gweddi'r Arglŵydd wedi ei hegluro mewn amryw ymadroddion, neu Bregethau Byrrion. O waith y Gwir Barchedig Dad Geor. Griffith, D.D., Diweddar Escob Llanelwy. Printiwyd yn y Theater yn Rhydychen, 1685." The editor, William Foulkes, was the son of the Rev. John Foulkes, Llanfyllin, who was turned out of that living by the Cromwellians. Bishop Griffith afterwards gave it to the son, and the latter laboured there for thirty years, died at Llanfyllin in 1691, and was buried near the church door, where a stone stands to his memory. William Foulkes also translated "Esponiad ar Gatechism yr Eglwys, Neu Ymarfer o Gariad Ddwyfol. A gymmonwyd er lleshad Esgobaeth Bath. Gan Thomas, Esgob Baddon. Ac a

* In the *Hist. of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, under *Canonia Quarta*, vol. i. p. 360, Archdeacon Thomas gives the following record of William Foulkes: William Foulkes, M.A., Jesus Coll., Oxford. Cler. fil; Sinecure Rector of Cwm, 1660-1, exchanged for the Rectories of Llanbrynmair and Llanfyllin, 1661-91. R. of Llanfihangel-yn-Nghwnfa, 1680-91. He edited Bishop Griffith's Sermons in Welsh on the Lord's Prayer, and wrote the *Rhagymadrodd et y Darllenydd*, 1684.

gyfieithwyd o'r Saesonaeg (yn ol ei gyntaf osodiad allan), gan William Foulkes, Athro yn y Celfyddydau, a Gweinidog anwiw Gair Duw yn Llanfylling. Printiedig yn Rhydychen yn y flwyddyn 1688."

Thomas Williams,† M.A., Denbigh, who had graduated at Jesus College in 1680, and became Rector of Denbigh in 1697, translated a work of Dr. Wm. Sherlock's, which had appeared in 1690. The Welsh work appeared in 1691, under the title "Ymadroddion bucheddol ynghylch marwolaeth. O waith Doctor Sherlock. A gyfieithwyd yn Gymraeg gan Tho. Williams, A.M. Printiedig yn Rhydychen gan Leon Lichfield, i John Marsh yn Cat-Eaten Street, ac i Charles Walley tan y llew coch yn Aldermanbury, yn Llundain, 1691." William Sherlock, the author of the original, was born at Southwark, London, in 1641, and educated at Eton and Cambridge. In 1669 he was presented to a London living, and in 1683 he became prebendary of St. Pancras. He was a High Churchman and a Jacobite, and in consequence was prohibited for a time from preaching. During that time he wrote this book, which he published in 1690. Sherlock ultimately submitted to the necessary oaths, and was reinstated. He published many tracts and sermons. He died at Hampstead in 1707. His son, Dr. Thomas Sherlock, became Bishop of Bangor in 1728. He was also a writer of some note.[1]

Other works translated by Thomas Williams were: "Eglurhad ar Gatechism yr Eglwys," 1708; "Annogaeth Fer i'r Cymmun Sanctaidd," 1710; "Cydymaith i Ddyddiau Gwylion ac Ympryd-iau Eglwys Loegr," 1712. The last named is a considerable work, and runs to 691 pages. He wrote one original work, "Goruchafiaeth a Llawenydd y Gwir Gristion," which was published as late as 1777 at Trefriw.

† The *Alumni Oxonienses* records: Thomas Williams, s. William of Yals-fach, co. Denbigh, p.p. Jesus Coll. Matric., 3 April, 1674, aged 16. B.A. 1677. M.A. 1680, perhaps rector of Kegidog St. George, 1684-7, and of Llanarmon-Dyffryn-Ceiriog, 1687-1702. V. of Llanrwst 1690-7 and of Llansannan (1st portion), all co. of Denbigh, 1696-1726. Rector and Vicar of Denbigh, 1697-1726.

[1] *Life of Sherlock* in Jones' *Christian Biographical Dictionary*.

John Morgan, Vicar of Aberconwy, published a translation entitled "Eglurhad byrr ar Gatechism yr Eglwys, ynghyd a thystiolaethau o'r Scrythur lân," in 1699. He also published, in 1704, "Bloedd-nad Ofnadwy, Yr udcorn diweddaf Neu Ailddyfodiad Christ i farnu'r Byd; ar wedd Pregeth. Ynghyd a rhai Caniadau deunyddiol i annerch y Cymru. Ac Hyfforddiad i'r anllythrenog i ddysgu darllen Cymraeg." His record in *Alumni Oxon.* is as follows: "John Morgans p.p. Jesus Coll. matric. 26 May, 1693. V. of Aberconway, co. Carnarvon, 1697."

Edward Jones, of Llanmerewig, published in 1699-1700 "Cydymaith yr Eglwyswr yn ymweled a'r claf, yn cynnwys i. Y modd neu wedd i ymweled a'r claf. ii. Y drefn am ymweled a'r claf, allan o'r Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin. iii. Cymmun y claf. iv. Rhai gweddiau a ffurfiau eraill. Gan mwyaf allan o scrifeniadau defosionawl rhai o'r Difeinyddion enwocaf o Eglwys Loegr, ynghyd a Bedydd Public a Phrifat. O gyfieithiad Edward Jones, Llanafrewig." The parish of Llanmerewig, of which Edward Jones was vicar, is situated near Newtown, in Montgomeryshire.[1]

David Maurice, D.D. (1626-1702), son of Dean Maurice, was Vicar of Abergele and Llanarmon, and also Prebendary of Vaynol in St. Asaph Cathedral. He published in 1700 "Arweiniwr Cartrefol i'r iawn a'r buddiol Dderbyniad o Swpper yr Arglwydd, ym mha un hefyd y mae'r ffordd a'r modd o iechydwriaeth wedi ei gosod allan yn fyrr, ac fel y bo hawdd eu deall. Gan Theophilus Dorrington. O gyfieithiad David Maurice, D.D." He also translated another work of Dorrington's, and entitled it "Cynffwrdd i'r Gwan Gristion, neu'r Gorsen ysig. Gan Dafydd Maurice, D.D. & Dorrington." This was published in 1702. The record given of him in *Alumni Oxon.* is as follows: "Maurice, David, of Jes. Coll., pleb. Matric. June, 1651 (subs.

[1] The *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, i. p. 536, states that Edward Jones received the benefice of Llanmerewig in 1635. He was M.A. from Hart Hall, Oxford, and Vicar of Nantlyn from 1625 to 1635. The *Alumni Oxon.* records that he was of co. Merioneth, and matriculated at Hart Hall, 19th June, 1610, aged 19. B.A. 1611-12, M.A. 1614. If these details are correct, Edward Jones' publication must have appeared some years after his death.

as Morris), B.A. 1654-5; M.A. from New College, 1657. Vicar of Llangernyw, 1662. Rector of Kegidog St. George, 1663; Cursal Prebendary of St. Asaph, 1664; Canon, 1666; V. of Llanasa, 1666; R. of Gwytherin, 1675; V. of Abergele, 1684; V. of Bettws yn Rhos, 1684; R. of Llanarmon in Yale, 1696." He died in 1702, and was buried at Abergele.[1]

. . . . . .

There were many eminent Welshmen in the seventeenth century, who wrote in English, and whose works it is necessary to chronicle in this account, for without them Wales would be shorn of half its glory in this part of our subject, inasmuch as the vast preponderance of the works we have noticed were translations from the English. But there were Welshmen whose careers had taken them outside the geographical limits of their own country, but who, nevertheless, were Welsh in blood and sentiment, and although they were not contributors to Welsh literature as such, they must be reckoned as benefactors to their country, and their works must be included as part of the intellectual output of Wales in that period. They were men, for the most part, intensely interested in the movements of the time, and their share in them was the share of Wales, inasmuch as they were so often "Welshmen born," as the writer of the *History of Oxford University* carefully states.

Gabriel Powel (1576-1611) was a famous polemical divine of this period. He was the son of Dr. David Powell, of Ruabon, entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1592, and graduated B.A. in 1595-6. In 1601-07 he was sinecure rector of Llansantffraid yn Mechain, Mont., and became domestic chaplain to Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, in 1605, and in 1606 rector of Chellesworth, Suffolk, subsequently removing in 1610 to the vicarage of Northolt (then called Northall), in Middlesex. He died in 1611,[2] at the early age of 35, after a career of great promise and of considerable achievement. He was accounted a prodigy of learning, and had great powers of argument and command of

[1] *History of Diocese of St. Asaph*, i. p. 334. [2] *D. N. B.*, vol. xlvi. Wood erroneously supposed that he died in 1607.

clear and terse expression, Although Wood describes him as a stiff Puritan,[1] his works do not bear this out. He was certainly opposed to Rome, but equally hostile to the "fanatical conceits which scrupled at . . . . the cross and surplice, and such other laudable ceremonies."[2] He rejected the term "Protestant" in his *Supplication*, 1604, as "a name given to certaine Germaines that protested against matters . . . . that touch us nothing, which never joined with them in protestation." Powell was a trenchant antagonist of William Bradshaw, and was the author of the following works: "The Resolved Christian," 1602 (3rd edition); "Prodromus," 1602, the first instalment of a commentary on all the Epistles; "The Catholikes Supplication," 1603, enlarged in 1604; "Disputationum Theologicarum de Antichristo libri duo," 1604-5; Book ii., 1606; "The Unlawfulnesse and Danger of Toleration," 1605; "A Refutation of an Epistle Apologetical, written by a Puritan-Papist," 1605; this was a work against Bradshaw, as was also, "A Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers' Arguments," 1606, and "A Rejoynder to the Myld Defence," 1606. In that year he also wrote "De Adiaphoris Theses." In 1600 he had prefixed some verses to William Vaughan's "Golden Grove Moralized," in which he spells his name *Powel*, as also in the title-pages of his own books.

Francis Goodwin[3] was Student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1578, and became Bishop of Llandaff in 1601, and held that See for sixteen years, when, in 1617, he was translated to Hereford, which he held until his death in 1633. Wood's comment on him shows the respect in which he was held amongst scholars. "He was a good man, a grave Divine, skilful mathematician, excellent philosopher, pure Latinist, incomparable historian, being no less critical in Histories than the learned *Selden*."

In one of his works he collected from old monuments and records, "the Succession of all the Bishops of England and Wales since the first planting of the Gospel, not pretermitting those of the British Church."[4] This he published in 1601, under the title

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 294, 394. [2] See article in *D. N. B.* [3] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 496-7. [4] ibid.

"A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, since the first planting of the Christian Religion in this Island, together with a brief History of their Lives and memorable actions. London. 1601." It was for this work that Queen Elizabeth promoted him to the bishopric of Llandaff. He brought out another edition of it in 1615, because of his omission in the first of the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, and added, "A Discourse concerning the first Conversion of this Island of Britaine into the Christian Religion." Bishop Goodwin was a strong Puritan, and Prynne often took advantage to quote from his writings when he wanted to advance the Puritan cause against the bishops. While he was a student at Christ Church, Goodwin had written under the name Domingo Gozales, a work entitled "The Man in the Moon, or, a discourse of a Voyage thither." This was printed in London 1638, after the author's death, and before the title it had the picture of a man taken up from the top of a mountain, by an engine drawn up to the moon "by certain flying birds."[1]

In 1629 Bishop Goodwin published his last work, "Nuncius Manimatus." He died in 1633. He had been a friend and patron of William Camden.

John Jones (Leander), the learned Benedictine, "the ornament of the English Benedictines in his time," as Wood styles him, was born in 1575, and was descended from a family living at Llanvrynach, in Brecknockshire. He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School, and secured from there in 1591 a scholarship at St. John's College, Oxford. Here he met William Laud and they became firm friends. John Jones afterwards became Fellow of his college, and applied himself to the study of Civil Law.[2] But at this time, having leanings towards Rome, he abandoned his Fellowship and proceeded to Spain, where he joined the Order of the Benedictine Monks at Compostella, and changed his name to Leander de Sancto Martino. Thence he went to Douay, where he was made Professor of Hebrew and Divinity in the College of St. Vedastus, where he remained for

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : p. 498. [2] ibid, i., pp. 514-515, and Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 256-7.

several years. He afterwards became Prior of the Benedictine College of St. Gregory at Douay, and Vicar-general to the English Benedictines of the Spanish congregations living outside Spain. He was twice president or Chief Superior of the same Order in England. Wood states that he was "a person of extraordinary eloquence, generally knowing in all arts and sciences, beloved of all that knew him and his worth, and hated by none but by the Puritans and Jesuits." Towards the end of his life, Laud invited him to England to confer with him about certain important points of the religious controversy then raging, and Prynne made considerable use of this fact in his attacks upon Laud. He died in 1635.

His published works were two Latin treatises on Divinity, one of them a kind of Concordance, and the other showing the harmony and consistence of the Scriptures. They are entitled: Sacra ars memoriæ ad Scripturas divinas in promptu habendas, memoriterque ediscendas accomodata, Duac 1623." And—

"Conciliatio Locorum communium totius Scripturæ," which is found at the end of the previous work.

He also left behind him in MS. an exposition of the Bible with Glosses, in six large volumes, derived from the works of Ludovicus Blosius, which had been published in 1626.

Archbishop John Williams was the second son of Edmund Williams, of Cochwillan and Aberconwy, by his wife Mary, daughter of Owen Wynn of Eglwysbach. He was born at Aberconwy in 1582, and educated first at Ruthin Grammar School,[1] and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, which he entered at 16, and subsequently became Fellow. He was a man of great natural abilities and also a great student. He was ordained when 27, and became chaplain to Lord Egerton, the Lord Chancellor. In 1611-12 he was Proctor at Cambridge, and entertained the Spanish ambassadors when they visited that University. He held several benefices, amongst them Grafton Regis and Underwood. In 1613 he was made Precentor of

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 526-530.

Lincoln and Prebendary of that Cathedral, and subsequently held prebendships at Peterborough, Hereford, and St. David's. In 1619 he became chaplain to the King, a Privy Councillor, and Dean of Salisbury, and in the following year Dean of Westminster. In 1621 he was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Bishop of Lincoln, through the influence, it is said, of the Duke of Buckingham. Laud, who differed so much from him in churchmanship, was his inveterate enemy, and although Bishop Williams attended King James on his death-bed, he did not crown Charles I., for that honour fell to Laud. This is said to have caused him much disappointment, and he afterwards joined the Puritans. In 1628 he was cited by the Star Chamber, but the accusation lay dormant until 1632. In 1637 he was fined £10,000, imprisoned, and suspended from his offices, but was released in 1640, and for a time became the idol of both Houses. At this time he conferred much with Edward Bagshaw and Prynne. In 1641 he preached against the Book of Sports, but also declaimed against Geneva, which caused him to decline in the public favour. In the same year he was translated to the Archbishopric of York, and he returned to Wales and fortified Conway Castle for the King, but a misunderstanding arose between them, and Charles relieved him of the Castle, whereupon he retired to Penrhyn and declared for Parliament. The Royalists at this time called him "the perfidious prelate and apostate Archbishop of York."[1]

He published the following works: "A Sermon of apparel, before the King and Parliament, at Theobald's, 1619;" "A Sermon before the Lords," 1623; "Sermon at the Funeral of King James," 1625; "Perseverentia Sanctorum," 1628; "Letter to the Vicar of Grantham," 1636; this was answered by Peter Heilyn in his "Coal from the Altar." Archbishop Williams replied to the latter in "Holy Table, name, and thing more antiently used under the New Testament than that of Altar," 1637; "Annotations in Vet. Test." and "in Ephesios," 1653; published after his death, under the name *Johan Eboracensis.*

[1] *Athen: Oxon:* i. pp. 803-05.

The Archbishop died at the house of Lady Mostyn, at Gloddaeth, in 1649, and was buried in Llandegai Church, near Bangor, "in a little vault at the upper end of the chancel."[1] On the north side of the chancel was erected a monument in white marble, by his nephew and heir, Sir Griffith Williams, with a Latin inscription made by Dr. John Hacket, who was sometime the Archbishop's chaplain. Bishop Hacket also wrote his biography, which was published in 1693, under the title *Scrinia Reservata*. Ambrose Philips also wrote a "Life" in 1700.

Lewis Owen, a native of Merionethshire, who entered Christ Church, Oxford, 1590, at the age of 18, and afterwards travelled on the Continent, entering the Society of Jesus at Valladolid as "a curious observer,"[2] and who "satisfied himself of their intrigues,"[3] left them, and became their most inveterate foe, was the author of several works against the Jesuits, the chief of which are: "The Running Register—a true relation of the state of the English Colleges, &c., in all foreign parts, together with a brief discourse of the lives, practices, &c., of English Monks, Friars, & Jesuits." 1626. This was followed in 1628 by "The Unmasking of all Papist Monks, or a treatise of their genealogy, beginnings, proceedings, and present state." In 1629 he issued "Speculum Jesuiticum, or, the Jesuit's Looking Glass, . . . a true Catalogue of all their Colleges, &c., and a true number of the Fellows of their Society." The last two works are printed at the end of Sir Edward Sandys' *Europæ Speculum*, which appeared in 1629.

John White, commonly called Century White, who was born at Henllan, in Pembrokeshire,[4] in 1590, educated at Jesus College, Oxford, 1607, aged 17, and afterwards proceeded to the Middle Temple as barrister-at-law, was an extreme Puritan who acted as one of the Feoffees for buying in impropriations, which were afterwards bestowed on the Puritan party. In 1640 he was M.P. for Southwark, and distinguished himself in the Long

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 684-5. [2] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p., 383. [3] ibid. [4] ibid, p. 517.

Parliament by his virulence against the bishops. He once boasted that he and his coadjutors had ejected 8,000 Churchmen in four or five years.[1] He published several of his speeches in Parliament, and besides: "The first century of scandalous, malignant priests, &c.," 1643; and "The Looking Glass," written against Episcopacy in 1643-4. The violence of his views may be gathered from the following quotation taken from "The Looking Glass"; "Malignant Cavaliers and Luke-warm Protestants, who assist the King in this War, are guilty of that fearful sin against the Holy Ghost." He died in 1644-5, and was buried in the Temple Church, and one of his admirers wrote the following epitaph:

Here lyeth a *John*, a burning, shining light,
His Name, Life, Actions, were all *White*.

John Owen was the eldest son of Owen Owen, Bodsilin, Aber, near Bangor, who was Archdeacon of Anglesey (1584-93), and rector of Burton Latimers, Northants, in which place John Owen was born, *c* 1580. He graduated at Christ College, Cambridge, 1596-7, and became Fellow of his College, and M.A. in 1600, D.D. in 1618. He was appointed chaplain to Charles I., and held several preferments in the Church; rector of Burton Latimers in 1608; rector of Carlton, 1625; and Cottingham (all in Northants), in 1625. In 1629 he became Archdeacon and Bishop of St. Asaph, holding also during his tenure of that See, the livings of Disserth, Llanfyllin, 1631; Whitford, 1631; Rhuddlan, 1632; Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant, 1632; Llanfechain, 1632; and Llanrwst, 1644.[2] He was greatly esteemed by Laud, to whom he doubtless owed much of his advancement in the Church. Canon Williams states that "he had incomparable skill in the Welsh language."[3] There are several entries concerning him in *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, and the following is of some interest: "Upon which day [July 2nd, 1631] Mr. Morris Jones, vicar choral, etc., made the first sermon in Welsh in the p'ish church of St. Asaph al's Llanelwey, by my Lord Bishop's order and decree

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 70, 71. [2] See Thomas' *St. Asaph*, pp. 98, 227.
[3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 379-80.

and my lord p'ched in his Cathedrall church that day."[1] In 1635 he set up a new organ at the Cathedral.[2] He was deprived, imprisoned, and fined under the Commonwealth, and died in 1651 at Aberkinsey, in Rhuddlan, and was buried under the throne in St. Asaph Cathedral, where a brass has recently been placed to his memory by his representative, William, second Lord Harlech.[3]

Hugh Robinson was the fifth son of Bishop Nicholas Robinson, of Bangor. He was born at Llanfair, Anglesey, educated at Winchester, and afterwards became Perpetual Fellow of New College, Oxford. He graduated M.A. in 1611, and was appointed Head Master of Winchester. In 1634 he became Archdeacon of Gloucester, Canon of Wells, and Rector of Dursley. He suffered under Cromwell, but afterwards took the Covenant and wrote in defence of it. His works show that he was an excellent linguist and able divine and historian. They are as follows: "Preces, written for the use of the children at Winchester School, in Latin and English"; "Grammaticalia quædam," in Latin and English; "Antiquæ Historiæ Synopsis"; all of which were printed at Oxford in 1616 in one volume, entitled "Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinæ." He died in 1655, but one of his works was published in 1677 under the title *Annalium Mundi Universalium.*

Griffith Williams, Dean of Bangor and Bishop of Ossory, whose tracts written during the Civil War have already been noticed in the first chapter of this work, was also the author of several other works, amongst which may be mentioned: "The delights of the Saints." 1622; "Seven Gold Candlesticks," 1627; "The true Church showed to all men," 1629; "The great Antichrist revealed," 1660; "Seven treatises very necessary to be observed in these bad days," 1661; "The Declaration of the Just Judgment of God," 1661; "Truth Vindicated," 1666;[4] besides numerous sermons. Bishop Williams was a most unswerving loyalist. Wood says that "of the means which he had in Wales

[1] *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, p. 134. [2] ibid, p. 161. [3] *Hist. of St. Asaph*, i. p. 228. [4] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 524-6.

he gave unto his Majesty's own hands, every Winter for three Years together, the Testimony of his Loyalty and Affection, to the utmost of his Power."[1] He himself suffered so much that "for twelve years together he had not £20 per annum in all the world, to maintain himself and his servants."[2] He refused the offer of Henry Cromwell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of a pension of £100 a year if he would submit to the Government.[3] He was one of the severest critics of the Parliament in all his writings, and in the bulk of them he draws comparisons between Old Testament evils and those of his own day. He directed one in particular against Cromwell. It was entitled "The Tragedy of Zimri that slew his King, that was his Master," a sermon based on 2 Kings ix. 31. He was restored to all his offices at the Restoration and returned to Ireland, dying in that country in 1671. In his Will he bequeathed his lands in Ireland "called *Fermoile*, worth forty pounds *per an.* to be settled upon eight poor distressed Widows, for whom he had erected eight several Alms-houses in the parish of *St. Kenny* in his own diocese."[4] He also left a charity to the poor at Bangor. Archbishop John Williams had been one of his patrons, and for the rest he owed much to Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who had secured for him the bishopric of Ossory, and to whom he had been chaplain for many years. Griffith Williams in the early part of his clerical life had been parson of St. Bennet Sherbogg, in London.

William Thomas (1613-1689), who belonged to a Carmarthenshire family (his grandfather was Recorder of Carmarthen), but was born at Bristol in 1613, rose to eminence in the Church as Bishop of Worcester, and was one of the most loveable characters of his time. He was educated at Carmarthen, under Morgan Owen, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. In 1629 he entered St. John's College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1632, M.A., Fellow of Jesus, and Tutor, in 1634-5. His first benefice was Penybryn, Cardiganshire, and he afterwards became chaplain

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. pp. 496-8. Also Walkers' *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. p. 2. [2] Ibid. [3] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii. p. 497. [4] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 198-9.

to James, Duke of York, who presented him to the vicarage of Laugharn, 1638. He was deprived in 1644, and suffered great hardships.[1] Reinstated at the Restoration, he became Chantor of St. David's 1660, and D.D. in 1661, and then rector of Llanbedr Velvre, Pembrokeshire (1661-5). As chaplain to the Duke of York, he was present with him at sea in his engagement against the Dutch. In 1665 he was appointed Dean of Worcester, and from 1678-83 was Bishop of St. David's. He did much for that See, repaired the palaces at Brecon and Abergwili, preached in Welsh, and helped Stephen Hughes with his 1677-8 edition of the Welsh Bible. In 1683 he was translated to the bishopric of Worcester, and gained in a marked degree the affection of his people. He regarded himself "as God's steward," was the most generous and hospitable of men, and used the emoluments of his See in various good works. He died in 1689, and was buried in the cloisters at Worcester. In 1678 he wrote "An Apology for the Church of England, 1678;" he also published many sermons, and amongst them, "A Sermon preached at Carmarthen Assizes, 1659;" and "The Manna of Unrighteousness, 1688," preached at Worcester Cathedral.

Thomas Jones, son of John Williams, was born at Oswestry, entered Jesus College, Oxford, at the beginning of the Rebellion, became Fellow of University College, by the authority of the Parliamentary Visitors, in 1648, submitted to the Covenant and proceeded to his B.A. degree in 1649, M.A. in 1652.[2]

He wrote, in 1652, *Vita Edwardi Simsoni S. T. D. ex ipsius autographo excerpta*, which is prefixed to Simson's *Chronicon Catholicum*. About 1654 he is supposed to have received episcopal ordination, and he was appointed rector of Castell Caereinion in 1655. In order to minister in that parish, he learned the Welsh language. He was ejected in 1661, and became domestic and naval chaplain to James, Duke of York, in 1663, but was dismissed in 1666, and retired to the rectory of

[1] *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 489-90; *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 835. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 710-11.

Llandyrnog, which he still held, but became obnoxious to the Bishop of Bangor. In 1670 the Bishop of Winchester brought an action for slander against him,[1] and he was fined £300 and his living sequestered. He wrote, in 1678, "Of the Heart and its right Sovereign:" and "Rome no Mother-Church to England." This was the time of the Popist Plot, and the book was an historical account of the title of the English Church. In 1682 he published "Elymas the Sorcerer: or a Memorial towards the discovery of the bottom of this Popist Plot," in which he relates the particulars of his quarrels. Wood states that this book was undertaken in spleen against the Bishop of Winchester, and it insinuated that the latter was in part responsible for the Duchess of York's declaration in favour of Popery. The Bishop meant to prosecute him, but he died before proceedings were instituted against him, in 1682. Anthony Wood describes him as "a person who was troubled with a rambling and sometimes craz'd pate."[2]

Edward Evans, a Denbighshire man, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, whither he went in 1598, at the age of sixteen, and took his B.A. degree, 1603, M.A. in 1607, became a noted preacher of his time at the University. He published four of his University Sermons under the title "*Verba Dierum*, or the day's report of God's glory," based on Psalm xix. 2, and printed at Oxford, 1615.[3]

Lewis Thomas (*alias* Evans)[4], Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford, Matriculated 1584, aged 16, took an arts degree, B.A. 1586-7, proceeded to Holy Orders and became beneficed in the County of Glamorgan. He published "Certain Lectures upon sundry portions of Scripture," 1600; "A Comment on the Decalogue," and "Seven Sermons or the Exercises of Seven Sabbaths."

William Thomas, "a Welshman born," as Wood describes him, was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, 1616, aged 14 years, left there without a degree, and was chosen Burgess for the town

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 711. [2] ibid, p. 712. [3] ibid, i., p. 343. [4] ibid, p. 381.

of Carnarvon to sit in the 1640 Parliament. He at first showed himself a bitter enemy against both Charles and the Church, but afterwards, seeing the desperate courses Parliament resorted to, he left them and joined the King at Oxford. In the 1640 Parliament he had spoken violently against the Church, especially against Bishops sitting in Parliament, and he made a speech, which was afterwards printed, "declaring the Office of Dean to be of little use.[1] When he espoused the King's cause, he did so most ardently, with the result that in 1650 he had to compound for his estates for being a Royalist. His speeches in Parliament were the only work of his that was published.

John Ellis, of Gwylan, a native of Llandecwyn,[2] Merionethshire, entered as a student at Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1617, aged 18, took his B.A. in 1621-2, and M.A. in 1625. He became Fellow of Jesus College in 1628, B.D. in 1632, and D.D. of St. Andrew's University in 1634. From 1629-47 he was Rector of Wheatfield, Oxon, and afterwards, 1646 to his death in 1666, Rector of Dolgelley. He was an ardent educationalist. His published works are: "Clavis fidei, seu brevia quædam dictata in symbolum Apostolorum, 1642." Translated into English by William Fowler in 1669. "Comment in Obadiam Proph., 1641"; "Vindiciæ Catholicæ,' 1647; and "Defensio Fidei," 1660.[3]

Henry Maurice, D.D., was a very learned and talented Divine, the son of Thomas Maurice, Rector of Llangristiolus,[4] Anglesey, where he was born in 1648. He was educated at Beaumaris Grammar School, proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1664, and was tutored there by Thomas Ellis aforementioned. He took his degrees, and became Fellow of his college, and after holding a curacy at Cheltenham, he returned to Oxford, "and grew eminent for virtue and learning."[5] He attracted the attention of Sir Leoline Jenkins, the then Principal, who asked him to

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 48. [2] *Alumni Oxon*: [3] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 361-2. [4] *Cambrian Register*, 1796, p. 263. [5] *Athen*: *Oxon*: pp. 872-875. Also Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 317.

attend him as chaplain in his embassy to Neomagin, where he was sent as Plenipotentiary in 1675. He remained abroad three years, and soon after his return, in 1680, through the efforts of Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, he became domestic chaplain to Archbishop Sandcroft of Canterbury,[1] and was a very prominent figure amongst the Archbishop's entourage, who afterwards presented him to the benefice of Chevening in Kent. He subsequently held the sinecure rectory of Llandrillo, became Chancellor of Chichester in 1681, and lastly Rector of Newington in Oxfordshire, in succession to Dr. Stradling, in 1685. In 1691 he was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Prebendary of Worcester, but he died suddenly in that same year. He was one of the noted Welshmen of this century, and Wood describes him as "a person of imcomparable learning, ... extraordinary memory, and a clear and ready wit. He was also an extempore preacher of great power." During his stay on the Continent he had collected a number of valuable books which, after his decease, were placed in Jesus College Library.[2] He was the author of several controversial works, which show his zeal towards the Church of England, her doctrine and discipline, and his invincible courage in defending and supporting her. He was a most strenuous opponent both of Rome and of Dissent. His works are:

1. "A Vindication of the Primitive Church and Diocesan Episcopacy," 1682. An answer to Mr. Baxter's "Church History of Bishops and their Councils abridged." In this work Henry Maurice exposed Mr. Baxter's "small insight into antiquity."
2. "The Antithelemite," or an answer to certain queries of the Duke of Buckingham, 1685.
3. "The Project," &c., written upon the occasion of the Popist Judges haranguing in their Circuits against the Established Religion, 1688.
4. "Doubts concerning the Roman Infallibility," 1688, after-

[1] *Cambrian Register*, p. 264. [2] ibid, 1796, p. 263.

wards printed amongst other tracts against Popery in the *Preservative*.

5. "Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy: or an Answer to Mr. David Clarkson's book entitled Primitive Episcopacy," 1691.

In his Memoir by a friend given in the *Cambrian Register* for 1796, he is described as "a person of excellent strong natural parts, improved by study, and the most elegant conversation to be met amongst the most eminent of his profession, for they all courted his friendship. . . . Bishop Hooper and he were like brothers. . . He spoke with that clearness of expression, and with that quickness and strength of judgment, that he seemed to want no deliberation, having all his notions so ready and at command." The same personal friend informs us that he died "about the 45th year of his age." His friends erected him a monument in Jesus College Chapel.[1]

Jonathan Edwards (1629-1712) was born at Wrexham, in 1629, entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1655; B.A. 1659; became Fellow of Jesus in 1662, M.A. 1662, B.D. 1669. He afterwards held the benefice of Kiddington, near Woodstock, and became Principal of Jesus College in 1686 in succession to John Lloyd.[2] He was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1689 to 1691. In 1687 he became Treasurer of Llandaff, and in 1681 he had been appointed Rector of Hinton-Ampner, in Hampshire,[3] besides holding two benefices in Wales. His chief work was "A Preservative against Socinianism," which appeared in 1693, but the work was not completed until ten years later. Part ii. appeared in 1694, part iii. in 1697, and part iv. in 1703. In this work he treated Faustus Socinus not as a heretic, but as the founder of a new religion. By the time the work was finished, the Socinian controvesry was practically over, and its place taken by the Arian controversy. Jonathan Edwards died in 1712, and was buried in the chapel of Jesus College. He left his books to the library of that college, and £1,000 for repairs to the building.

1 *Cambrian Register*, 1796, p. 269. 2 *D. N. B.* 3 *Athen: Oxon:* ii. p. 1093; also Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*.

Richard Lucas was born at Presteign, in Radnorshire, in 1648, entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1664, took the B.A. degree in 1668, and M.A. in 1672.[1] He afterwards became Master of the Free School at Abergavenny, vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, and, in 1691, Doctor of Divinity, and Prebendary of Westminster in 1696. He was blind for many years before his death, which happened in 1715. He wrote many valuable works, which, as Canon Williams remarks, "will transmit his name with honour to posterity." The chief of them are:

"Practical Christianity: or, an Account of the Holiness which the Gospel enjoyns, with the Motives to it, and the Remedies it proposes against Temptations." 167—, and 1681.

"An enquiry after Happiness," 1685, his most important work, in two volumes. It went through many editions, and was deservedly esteemed.

He was also the author of several series of sermons, some of them preached at St. Stephens, Coleman Street, others before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, one before the Queen, at Kensington, and others before their Majesties, at Whitehall.

In 1680, he translated from English into Latin *The whole duty of Man*, under the title *Officium Hominis, &c.*

Humphrey Humphreys was the eldest son and heir of Richard Humphreys, of Penrhyn Deudraeth, Merionethshire, and of Margaret, the daughter of Robert Wynn, of Cesailgyfarch, Carnarvonshire.[2] He was born in 1648, began his education at Oswestry, under the care of his uncle, Humphrey Wynn, M.A., Vicar and Schoolmaster, and then proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1665. He took his B.A. degree in 1669, was scholar in 1670, and became M.A. and Fellow in 1672; B.D., 1680; D.D., 1682. He was ordained Deacon and Priest at Bangor in 1670, by Bishop Robert Morgan, and afterwards held the livings of Llanfrothen (1670) and Trawsfynydd, in Merionethshire (1672). Becoming chaplain to Dr. Humphrey Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor, in 1673, he was promoted first to a canonry in that Cathedral,

[1] *Athen*; *Oxon*: ii., p. 1093. [2] ibid, ii., 1183.

1680, and afterwards to the Deanery, 1682. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Bishop Robert Morgan. In 1689, on the death of Bishop Humphrey Lloyd, he was appointed his successor, being afterwards translated, in 1701, to the See of Hereford. He died in 1712, and was interred near the altar of his Cathedral at Hereford. He was very well versed in the antiquities of Wales, and wrote some memoirs of Eminent Welshmen in addition to those contained in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. The "Additions" are printed in the last edition of that work, and in the first volume of the *Cambrian Register* for 1795, pp. 155-160, where a biographical notice of the bishop is subjoined.[1]

John Owen: an eminent divine amongst the Independents, was the son of Henry Owen, Vicar of Stadham, near Watlington, in Oxfordshire,[2] where he was born in 1616,[3] and entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1628, he being a youth of exceptional ability. He graduated B.A. in 1632, and M.A. in 1635. He refused to comply with Laud's new statutes, and left Oxford on that account in 1637. He took Holy Orders, however, and became chaplain to John L. Lovelace, of Hurley, in Berkshire. When the Civil War broke out, he sided with the Parliament. He took the Covenant, and was made minister of Fordham, in Essex, and afterwards of Coggleshall, in the same county. In the former place he was a Presbyterian, but in the latter he became an Independent. Wood, who bore him no love, declares that in doing this "he became endeared to Oliver Cromwell,"[4] who afterwards held him in high esteem, and frequently relied on his counsel. After the execution of Charles I., he preached in the House of Commons on the justice of his fate, and he took a prominent part in the Thanksgiving at Christ Church, in London, for Cromwell's victory over the Levellers in 1649. In March, 1651, he was appointed by the Parliament Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and took an active part in disseminating Cromwell's views in the University, but encountered great opposition from

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 227. [2] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., p. 737. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 380. This date seems doubtful. [4] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., p. 738.

his former friends, the Presbyterians. In 1652 he was made Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and shocked that University by his disregard of conventions. In 1654 he was appointed a Commissioner, and in the same year stood to be elected burgess by the University, but sat but a short time in Parliament. Wood charges him with great want of reverence, and mentions his disrespect during the recital of the Lord's Prayer[1] on some occasions at Oxford.

In 1657, when Richard Cromwell was elected Chancellor of the University, Owen was removed from the Vice-Chancellorship, and in 1659 he was ousted from the Deanery of Christ Church and retired to Stadham, his birthplace, where he had bought some land. He was excepted from the Act of Oblivion at the Restoration, but nevertheless, Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, treated him kindly, and asked him, if he could not conform, to use his energy and ability against the Papists. In spite of Wood's evident antagonism and prejudice, he quotes some very favourable opinions of John Owen, and amongst them those of Edward Stillingfleet and Henry Dodwell, and himself admits that "his personage was proper and comely, and he had a very graceful behaviour in the Pulpit, an eloquent elocution, a winning and insinuating deportment, and could by the persuasion of his oratory . . . move and wind the affections of his admiring Auditory almost as he pleased."[2] Several instances are given by Canon Williams in his *Eminent Welshmen* of Owen's moderation, notably in the case of Dr. Willis, whom he allowed to use the Liturgy unmolested, and that of Dr. Edward Pococke.

He was one of the most active writers of that age, and the titles of his works fill six columns in the *History of Oxford Writers*. Most of them are sermons, or polemical works on the religious controversies of those times. *Salus Electorum Sanguis Jesu* is one of his most substantial works. In it the whole controversy of universal redemption is fully discussed in four books. He wrote other works against the tenets of Hugh Grotius and those of John

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., p. 739. [2] ibid, ii., p. 741.

Goodwin, as well as those of Dr. William Sherlock, and had also much pen warfare with Dr. Stillingfleet. His expositions on various passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews are considered very able. He died in 1683.

John Price was born of Welsh parents in London,[1] educated at Westminster School, and proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1617, left the University without a degree, and was taken into the household of one of the sons of the Earl of Arundel. He then went overseas to "a certain University," which is not named by Wood,[2] returned to England, and was of the retinue of the Earl of Strafford when the latter was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There he became acquainted with Archbishop Usher. Price subsequently defended Strafford against charges made by Parliament, and was cast into prison. Regaining his freedom, he again went over seas, and settled about 1652 at Florence in Italy. The Duke of Tuscany made him Professor of Greek in the University of Pisa, where he was highly esteemed for his patristic knowledge and linguistic attainments.

He wrote a work on Plato's philosophy, which he printed at Paris in 1635. In 1646 he issued *Annotations in epistolam Jacobi*. In 1647, *Acta Apostolorum ex S. pagina, sanctis Patribus Græcisque ac Latinis Gentium scriptoribus illustrata*. He also wrote a Commentary on St. Matthew, and this with those on St. James and the Acts, just mentioned, were printed in London in 1660 in *Commentarii in varios Novi Testamenti libros*. Another Commentary by Price on the Psalms was published in the same series in 1660.

Price left Tuscany and went to Rome, where he joined the retinue of the famous Cardinal Francis Barberini,[3] "the Protector of the English nation," as Wood styled him. He spent his last days in the Convent of St. Augustine, where he died in 1676.

[1] *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 417. [2] *Athen: Oxon*: ii. p. 582. [3] ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE POETRY OF THE PERIOD

(a) Welsh Poetry.

(b) English and Latin Poems.

(a) WELSH POETRY.

THE dynasty of the Tudors ended in 1603, and the bardic conventions in Wales, which had received their royal sanction, seem to have ended with them. The bards of the seventeenth century, for the most part, failed to comply with the tests in versification, in its rules and principles, which their more highly gifted predecessors had imposed, or, perhaps, the attempt to observe them had crushed out inspiration, and very little of real worth was produced in this century, written in the confined metres approved by the official bards, and in *cynghanedd*. There came no incentive to bardism from the higher circles. It could hardly have been expected from the Stuarts, who had no ties with Wales, and who were engrossed chiefly in establishing the theory of the Divine right of Kings, and afterwards in saving their toppling throne, which Englishmen could never allow to rest on such a foundation. As far as royal patronage was concerned, the bards were left entirely to their own devices.

The stirring times of the Civil Wars seem to have suggested very little to their fancy and imagination, and men had neither the time nor the inclination to study the artificial rules of versification, which had produced the twenty-four metres, and to apply them in bardic exercises undertaken more for the sake of the ingenuity required in carrying out the rules of the profession, than for giving expression in poetic garb to themes which pressed for utterance, and would not be denied it, because they were urgent and all-absorbing. The most eminent bard of the century broke away from the conventions which had governed the fraternity for many decades, and the bulk of his poetry is written in the free metres. For the most part, the only compositions attempted, or sought after, were an occasional elegiac *cywydd*, a *dyri* adapted to the popular taste, or Christmas carols for use at the *Plygain*, the early service of song held in the churches on Christmas Day.

This service was an institution which had taken firm hold, especially in rural Wales, and it still survives in some remote parts of the country.

It took Wales more than a century to complete the discomfiture of those poetasters against whom measures had been directed at the Eisteddfod of Caerwys. The truth is that the itinerant bards, or *clerwyr*, as they were termed, had been accustomed to build up the rhyme on a more material foundation than the Muse is supposed to require. The majority of them were ignorant mendicants, and a very shrewd blow was struck at them by the requirements laid down at that Eisteddfod in 1568. So that before the Civil War broke out, their ranks had been considerably depleted. That event destroyed their last hope, for such gentry as continued to succour them were now absorbed in internecine strife, and were unable to avail themselves of the services of even the superior *pencerdd* or *bardd teulu*, not to mention the low grade bard, who passed under the name *clerwr*, and was already an outcast in the eyes of respectable members of the profession.

Such members of the Welsh aristocracy as survived the Civil Wars, and as Wales was Royalist in sympathy there were but few who escaped with life and property intact, had formed so close an intercourse with England that their national customs, however excellent, was worn away considerably. The patronage given to the bards, which was already on the wane in pre-Civil War days, now became a thing of the past, and many of the old manners and customs were looked upon as barbarous. So there was very little encouragement for the practice of poetry on the old lines of laborious and intricate compositions. *Penillion*, Interludes, and Songs were, in the main, the productions of this century. *Penillion*, of course, originated in earlier times. The bards used them chiefly for mnemonic purposes, to fill men's minds with a store of maxims. It was no uncommon thing to find men who could sing to the accompaniment of the harp some hundreds of these *penillion*.

The Interludes came later. It is not exactly certain when they were introduced, and they were deemed an inferior form of verse, but they date, at least, from the beginning of this period.

Song-writing came later in North Wales than it did in South Wales. It certainly was not popular in the North until the time of Charles I., and it is the bard whose work will now be considered, who brought it into general favour in Gwynedd.

Huw Morus, although not a sun in the poetic firmament, was, at least, a brilliant star in comparison with any other Welsh versifier of that age, Edward Morus alone excepted, for they both helped to light up the darkness and dispel something of the gloom which had settled upon Cambrian poetry.

Huw Morus was the third son of a respectable freeholder living on his own patrimony at Pont-y-meibion, in the valley of Ceiriog, in the parish of Llansilin, Denbighshire, and was born at that farm-house in 1622. Nothing is known of his early education, but from his first youth he showed a facility for verse, which belongs only to innate genius. When quite young he was apprenticed to a tanner, who lived in a house called *Gwaliau*, near Overton in Flintshire. His biographer in the *Cambrian Register*[1] asserts that he quitted this work before the end of his term of apprenticeship. This does not agree with the evidence in one of his Juvenile Songs, in which he states that he stayed the usual seven years, although he regarded with unconcealed disgust the restrictions placed upon his liberty. It would appear that his master was a martinet, who forbade him under heavy penalties any intercourse with the fair sex:

> Bum felly saith mlynedd . . . .
> Heb feiddiaw cael cusan llancesi,
> Mi awn ffwrdd ar hynt, fel y gwynt,
> Rhag fforffetio deugain punt.

At the end of these seven years, however, he returned to Pont-y-meibion, and worked with his brother on the farm. He now began to write poems, most of them amatory songs adapted to lyrical metres. *Mawl Merch* was his first theme, although in

[1] Vol. i. p. 427, Article by David Samwell.

those early days he composed some sacred dramas and some comedies, very few of which have been preserved. He was a frequent and welcome guest at many country seats in the neighbourhood of Glyn Ceiriog, especially at Porkington, whose owner, Mr. Owen, became his principal patron and friend. Huw Morus had not much book learning, but he had a fertile imagination and a heart full of virtuous sentiments, which, no doubt, made him an admirable companion.

A man from whose pen everything flowed with such felicity and ease, in whose writings we find nothing forced, and no sign of laborious effort, could hardly fail to be sought after by his neighbours, and to win the esteem of Welshmen, who are always ready to worship at the shrine of the muses. His poems show that he eminently excelled in that quality of humour which is at once harmless and delightful. The variety of his themes discloses a mind which could adapt itself to many conditions. He had a deep sense of justice, and his sympathies were readily given to those who suffered injustice, and in some of his poems he made bold to wage war against private acts of injustice which came to his notice. For instance, it had come to his knowledge that an estate in Bromfield had been diverted from its rightful heir by a forged will, which the dead hand of the previous owner had been guided to subscribe. Huw Morus, in four biting satires, severely dealt with the principals in this revolting episode. The poems are known as "Cerddi y Tiroedd Taerion." In one of them he presents the striking image that the bells of Ruabon Church rang out at midnight of their own volition, when this dread deed was perpetrated.

Despite the playfulness of his Muse in the Juvenile poems, he was a man of exemplary life, and was looked upon by his contemporaries almost as one divinely inspired. He had studied the Scriptures deeply, and disseminated their principles among his countrymen, and his writings are known to have had an influence upon the habits and morals of the common people. He used his keen wit and barbed sarcasm unmercifully against cant and

hypocrisy, and in this has well deserved the title sometimes given him, the Hudibras of Wales.

He often employed his friendly offices as arbitrator in local feuds, and he was always ready to plead the cause of his poorer fellow-bards, and of widows and orphans, with those who were opulent in this world's goods.

In politics he was a devoted Royalist, and during the Civil Wars remained a staunch friend of Charles I. He used his pen unstintingly in the King's cause, and his poems leave one in no doubt as to his views on matters of Church and State. It has been said that North Wales was more loyal to the King than any other part owing to the vast influence of his writings.[1] Even after Cromwell had triumphed, he continued to express his loyal sentiments in the form of allegorical visions. The allusions were veiled, but were well understood by those who knew the bard. He employed his Muse, however, with great prudence and discretion during those dangerous times, and escaped the vengeance wreaked upon Rowland Vaughan, of Caergai, whose mansion the Roundheads burned to the ground, and upon William Phylip, of Ardudwy, the septuagenarian bard, who was compelled to take refuge in the Merionethshire mountains. Huw Morus was not less loyal than these two, but more prudent. He waited until the danger was over, before he explained his allegories.

He was a great carol writer and received applications from all parts of North Wales, even as late as his eighty-sixth year, for carols to be sung at the early Plygain Service on the day of our Lord's Nativity. The present writer, when ministering in a remote part of Wales, heard several of his carols sung, which had been transmitted by oral tradition, although the singers were quite unaware of their origin. Huw Morus' antipathy to Popish errors comes out strongly in some of them, *e.g.*,

> Mab Duw o'r uchelne'—
> Nid *Paban* y delwau,
> Sy 'n cadw agoriadau gwarediad.

In all his carols he shows the work of a devotional mind and

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, iii., p. 27.

one well versed in the Scriptures. He lamented the disregard of Christmas, which had crept in under the Commonwealth, in one of the best known of his carols, "Carol Gwyliau a wnaed yn amser rhwysg Oliver":

Yn anghof gollyngwyd yr amser y ganwyd
Oen hyfryd, wiw Brophwyd y brif-ffordd.
Fe a'r Meistr bonheddig, mor fwyn yn ei fenyg,
I weithio'r Nadolig, drwy chwithig drwch wedd;
Ar ol hynny flwyddyn ni wna efe un gronyn,
Ond eiste'n wr gerwin, a gorwedd.

He never tired of writing these compositions. Of one written in his eightieth year, he remarks:

Os gofyn dyn duwiol
Pwy luniodd y carol
O fawl i Dduw nefol,
Orseddol ei swydd;
Hen ddyn a phen maban,
A'i awen yn fechan,
A'i gorph yn oer egwan ar ogwydd.

One of his best ironical elegies is that entitled *Marwnad Gwŷr Oliver*, and one of his most pathetic the Elegy on the death of Mrs. Myddleton of Plas Newydd, which takes the form of a dialogue between the dead lady and her husband, who survived her. A composition marked by lofty sentiment and almost unequalled felicity of expression is his *Cyffes ar ei glaf wely*. He always handled religious subjects with reverence and dignity, and as one writer aptly stated, "He never touched the ark with unhallowed hands."[1] In this he did for Wales what Milton did for England. When he wished to caricature the times, he selected his *dramatis personæ*, like Æsop, from the animal world. Thus, in one of his visions, the characters were: Llew (Lion), Charles I.; Llewod ieuainc (young Lions), The Young Princes; Llwynogod Lloegr goch (The Foxes of red England), The Parliament; Y Llwynog (The Fox), Cromwell; Moch Prydyn (The Hogs of Scotland), The Scottish Army; Defaid (Sheep), The peaceable Subjects; Bugeiliaid (Shepherds), The exiled Clergy; Cwn tramor, Foreign Harriers.

His poem *Ymrafael y Creaduriaid* (The Battle of the Brutes)

[1] Introduction to *Eos Ceiriog*, p. xvi.

has the following characters: The Barcud (Kite) and Cigfran (Raven), represent the rival parties for the Government of the Commonwealth; Oen (Lamb), represents the revenues of Church and State; Mwyalchen (Blackbird), the moderate party; and Y Llwynog (the Fox), Oliver Cromwell. This poem delineates what the bard conceived to be Cromwell's duplicity and cunning in arriving at the Protectorate:

Pan geisiai'r *Barcud* damaid
A'i 'winedd nid oedd weiniaid,
Fe ymaflai'r *Gigfran* yn ei geg,
Nid da nid teg mo'u tynged.

Tra'r oedd yr ymdrech rhyngthyn'—
Mi a welwn Lwynog melyn,
O glun i glun heb ronyn braw,
Yn rhodio draw'n y rhedyn.

Ynghysgod perth fe lechai,
A'i lygaid fel canwyllau,
Yn hyf gwn fod y cenaw cam
Yn chwerthin am eu pennau.

Ar ben ychydig amser,
Gwedi iddo gael ei bleser,
Ni adawai'r ddau aderyn dig,
Fe restiai gig y brasder.

Ond pwy yn drist ae drostyn'—
Pe byddent meirw o newyn?
A'i fol yn llawn, mewn lloches glyd
Mae'n llawen fyd ar *Fadyn*.

After the Restoration he no longer hesitated to deal with the characters of the Great Rebellion under their own names. Cromwell, General Lambert, Vavasor Powell, and the rest, are each dealt with in no uncertain terms.

Much of his verse was designed to be sung to the accompaniment of the harp, and he generally inserts the name of the tune above the song. Amongst the tunes thus employed may be instanced: *Difyrrwch Gwyr Dyfi*, *Y Ddeilen Werdd*, *Y Galon Drom*, *Brynie'r Werddon*, *Llafar Haf*, *Gwledd Angharad*, and *Per Oslef*.

Although he remained a celibate to the end of his life, his love-poems are numerous, and are addressed to many different maidens, whom, on occasion, he does not fear to censure as well

as to sing their praises. The lyric metres he employed were afterwards very popular, and he had many imitators, but very few who used them to the same advantage. Gwallter Mechain writes of him: "As a lyric poet, so astonishingly hath he been thought to excel, that a late author[1] compares him to a surprising comet appearing after the revolution of three hundred years, the last having been Dafydd ab Gwilym. . . . . Both abounded in pure nature, and were not seemingly under any obligation to art."[2]

The following are, perhaps, typical stanzas, from his love-songs:

Nid ydyw da'r byd
A'i hyder o hyd,
I wŷr ac i wragedd, ond gwagedd i gyd ;
Mawr serch a hir sai',
Da drysor di drai,
Yn hwy o flynyddoedd na thiroedd na thai.
Cei draserch heb droi,
A chalon i'w chloi,
Os wyt ti f' anwylyd, yn dywedyd y *doi ;*
Os tyni di yn groes,
Mae'n berygl am f' oes,
O gariad, dwys d'rawiad, ymadawiad nid oes.
. . . . . .
Fy ngwenithen lawen liwus,
O ran dy ddäed 'r wy'n dy ddewis,
Nid am ddiwrnod hynod heiny'—
Y dymunwn gael dy gwmni,
Nid am fis, neu ddau, neu flwyddyn,
Trwy gymmendod, ar wan dafod, yr wy'n d' ofyn ;
Tra fo f'einioes heb derfynu,
Mynwn beunydd, difai ddeunydd, dy feddiannu.

His elegy on the death of Mrs. Myddleton, of Plas Newydd, shows that he could excel as a writer of *marwnadau.* David Samwell has compared this with Lord Lyttleton's "Monody on the death of his Lady" and "To the Memory of a young Lady," by Mr. Shaw, and his comment is, "Whoever will compare them with this elegy, must allow, that they are equalled, if not excelled, by the Cambrian bard."[3] The closing lines show the tenderness and singular beauty of this elegy, which is written in the form of a

[1] Mr. Lewis Morris in a letter to William Parry. See Gwallter Mechain's Preface, p. xviii. [2] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, iii. p. 303. [3] *Cambrian Register*, i., 1795, p. 434.

dialogue between the living and the dead, a form in which Huw Morus has imitated William Llŷn and other bards;

Ffarwel garedig, wraig fonheddig,
Bendigedig oedd dy gael;
Er colli tegwch, a hawddgarwch,
Doniau harddwch, mae Duw'n hael.
Iôn, gwna'n foddlon, fy meddylion,
I'th amcanion doethion di;
Nid yw ryfedd, faint f'anhunedd,
Dod amynedd, Dad, i mi;
A dod drugaredd, rhanwr rhinwedd,
Yn y diwedd, i ni ein dau;
A maddeu i'm calon, am fy Ngwen-fron,
Oedd wych a ffyddlon, ei choffau.

He throws much light on the social changes wrought during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth. For instance, he expresses his repugnance to a law which came into force restricting the performance of the marriage rite to the secular magistrate:

Rhyw gyfraith newydd gwmbrus
Anhwylus ydyw hon!
. . . . . .
Y merched rhowch eich gweddi,
Yn ffyddlon gyda myfi,
Am gael y gyfraith ddifri
Ffei o honi leni i lawr.

He pours scorn on the illiterate ministry so often set up by the Roundheads:

Rhyw ddyn o'u mysg, heb ddysg, heb ddawn,
A wnae ryw bregeth felus iawn.
. . . . . .
Ni fedrai ein Personiaid ni,
Fyth goethi y fath bregethau.

He is also very satirical about the tinkers who became mayors, and the blacksmiths, weavers, and others, who conducted public worship on Sunday and sat on the magisterial bench on other days:

Rhai a ddywed yn dduwiol mai'r *Gof* sydd ysbrydol,
Ac eraill modd gwrol a ganmol y *Gwydd*;
A rhai sy'n deisyfu y *Crydd* i'w ceryddu,
A'r lleill yn moliannu'r *Melinydd*.

The topsy-turvydom of social life he satirised in *Marwnad Gwŷr Oliver* in trenchant lines, of which the following are a fair example:

Potiwr pridd oedd Gadpen glân,
Mewn sidan yn drwsiadus,
A'r *Cariwr* nôd ar gefn ei farch,
Fel iarll dihafarch hoenus ;
Yn wr gwych yn ei *Reidin* goch,
Mewn llawer gwledd ennillai'r gloch,
Yn byw ar win a mehin moch,
Chwi a'i gwyddoch enwog oeddyn';
Doe yn fawr eu grym a'u nerth,
Yn dringo i *dop* y simddai serth,
A heddyw'n llechu tan y berth,
Ow ! mor ddi-ymadferth ydyn'.
. . . . . .
A'r cleddyf llym, mewn grym a gras,
Curo'i feistr a allai'r gwas,
A chymryd meddiant yn ei blas,
Yn ddigon bras ei breseb.
. . . . . .
Mi a ddylwn yn fy Marwnad mwyn,
Yn uchel ddwyn eu hachau ;
Yr oedd eu graddau'n fawr trwy gred,
O'r hen *Fegeriaid* goreu !

He describes the joy of the populace at the Restoration in his poem *Croesaw i'r Arglwydd Mwnc i Lundain :*

Mae yn Llundain seinio clychau,
Y drymau a'r gynau ar gân,
Mae *miwsig* pawb a'u moesau
O groesaw i'r gleiniau glân ;
Cusanu dwylaw a dilyn ein brenin braf o bryd,
Y rhod a drodd
Drwy rasol fodd—i ryngu bodd y byd !

His disgust at the execution of Charles I. is described in the strongest terms in *Cerdd y Plot fu yn Llundain.*

Nid rhydd i'r traed farnu y pen, a'i ddirmygu,
Tan daeru iddo gamu, heb lynu yn ei le ;
Yr un modd i'r gwerin, roi barn ar y brenin,
A'r Arglwydd yn wreiddyn i'w raddau.

In the same poem he makes a firm stand for establishedauthority :

Cywirdra ac ufudd-dod i Dduw a'r awdurdod,
Yw ffynnon a phennod y ffynniant.

But this poem has an unjust reflection on Algernon Sydney, whom the bard accuses of a design to kill Charles II. and his brother James. His biographer, D. Samwell, pleads as his excuse that he was deceived in his information respecting Sydney.

In others of his political odes he describes and commemorates the great naval victory obtained by the English and Dutch under Admiral Russell against the French, off La Hogue, in 1692. In another poem he describes the war in Flanders.

So far, the poems that have been noticed were written in the free metres, but he also wrote a number of *cywyddau* and *englynion* which showed his mastery of the *cynghanedd*. The following lines taken from his Elegy to Sir Thomas Mostyn and Lady Mostyn, who were buried in the same grave at Eglwys y Rhos, in Creuddyn, serve as a good instance of his skill in this direction:

Oer i eryr hir aros,
O'i lys rhydd yn Eglwys Rhos
. . . . . .
Angeu a'i rhoes, ing yr hawg,
A'i arf erchyll ar farchawg;
A'i Arglwyddes wawr Gloddaith,
I ran Duw aent i'r un daith;
Ni ddymunodd i'w maenol,
Aeres wych, aros o'i ol;
Gado i fonedd gydfyned,
A wnaeth Crist am wenith cred,
Un foddion yn fyw oeddynt,
Un gred goel, un gariad gynt;
Un galon union, un air,
Un ddaioni 'n ddi-anair.

He also wrote a very large number of *englynion*, of which the following *Ynglyn o Gyngor* is a fair sample:

Na fydd *anfwyn* wrth *fwyn* o'th fodd—na *mwyn*
Wrth *anfwyn* o'th anfodd;
Anfwyn nid da mewn unfodd,
Na rhy *fwyn*, ond mewn rhyw fodd.

In his last illness, in reply to a friend who made inquiries as to his condition, he wrote:

Myn'd i'r ail adail ar redeg—yr wyf,
Lle ceir oes ychwaneg,
I baradwys bur wiwdeg,
Yn enw Duw yn union deg.

Huw Morus died at Pont-y-meibion, on the 31st of August,

1709, at the advanced age of eighty-seven, and was buried at Llansilin. The following epitaph is engraved on his tombstone :

Dyma Huw a fu byw yn y bŷd, yn bencerdd
Am bynciau celfyddyd ;
Gwir organ y gân i gyd ;
Diamniau yw, dyma *Ovyd.*
Er Groegiaid, blaeniaid, aer blŷs, iawn naddiad
Awenyddiaeth fedrys
Lladingwyr ledwyr dilys,
Hwya mawredd Huw Morys.
Y parch. Mr. Robert Wynne, Vicar Gwyddelwern.

He has been ranked with Dafydd ab Gwilym as to the quality of his muse, and in his power of imagination and versatility. Mr. R. J. Prys, writing of these two great bards, states with much truth: "Ychydig iawn o feirdd Cymru sy'n deilwng i gael eu rhestri yn yr un dosbarth aruchel a hwynt hwy, o ran crebwyll, darfelydd, ac amledd eu cyfansoddiadau awenyddol. Y gwir yw, mai rhai wedi eu *geni* yn feirdd a llenorion oedd y ddau, ac nid rhai wedi eu saernïo gan ddysg a chelfyddyd." Poetry seemed to flow easily and naturally from Huw Morus; it was not the result of effort, but of inspiration. He was certainly in the first rank of Welsh poets, and was pre-eminently *the* bard of the seventeenth century. Mr. Lewis Morris held the opinion that his *cywyddau* and *englynion* suffered by comparison with his poems in the free metres,[1] but we cannot agree with him in his verdict as to the former—"yr oedd allan o'i elfen anianol," for his *cywyddau*, in particular, will compare with most things that were written by bards of merit.

Gwallter Mechain collected his poems from various sources. He states in his preface to *Eos Ceiriog:* "Rhai Carolau a Cherddi a gyhoeddwyd ym mhlith Caniadau eraill gan un *Ffoulk Owen* yn *Rhydychen*, yn y fl. 1686. Ac eraill gan un *Tomas Jones* yn y *'Mwythig*, yn y fl. 1696. A *Dewi Fardd* (fel y galwai ei hun) o *Drefriw*, a chwanegodd at y rhifedi yn ei lyfr a elwir "*Blodeu-Gerdd Cymru.*" The others he collected, as he says, from manuscripts as old as the author, perhaps of his own writing, and others from later MSS. His own two volumes of the great bard's

[1] *Eos Ceiriog*, Introduction, p. xix.

work he published under the title: "Eos Ceiriog, sef Casgliad o Bêr Ganiadau Huw Morus; yn ddau Lyfr: O gynhulliad a Diwygiad W. D. [Walter Davies].

Mawl a geiff am oleu gerdd
A gwiw sein-gân gyson-gerdd.
Goronwy Owain.

Yn Ngwrecsam argraffwyd ac a gyhoeddwyd gan I. Painter. 1823."

He has arranged the poems in nine sections, as follows: *Cywyddion*, *Mabinogion*, *Hanesion*, *Priodolion*, *Difrifolion*, *Maesolion*, *Galar-Gwynion*, *Dwyfolion*, and *Ynglynion*.

Many tributes were paid to Huw Morus by contemporary bards and those of a later age in the form of *cywyddau marwnad* and *englynion*. That of the Rev. Robert Wynn is, perhaps, the most striking. It begins as follows:

Mae niwl draw, mae gwlaw'n y *Glyn*,
A barug oddeutu *Berwyn*;
Tywyllwch, aethwch weithian
Gorchûdd yn awr mawr a mân;
A rhif o ddagrau yr hawg,
Yn cyrhaedd glànau *Ceiriawg*;
Mae hyd y wlad, yn fad fu,
Ochenaid mwy na chanu;
Ar ol *Huw*, araul ei wedd,
Oedd gynnil brif fardd Gwynedd.[1]

Dafydd ab Ioan, Llangollen, wrote in 1820, "Myfyrdod uwch ben Bedd Huw Morus," which contains some striking stanzas.

Llyma gryd dybryd dibris—oer wely
Er alaeth dros ganmis;
Graian yw—pa fangre'n is,
I roi'r mawr-wr *Huw Morris?*

. . . . . .

'R wyf bron wylaw hagr ddagrau—o weled
Mor wael ei Gaer yntau;
Cofiaw hefyd ryw bryd brau
Mae bedd tydd f' annedd innau.[2]

Another bard, Robert Davies, of Nantglyn, wrote of the bard's grave, which is on the south side of Llansilin Churchyard, close to the wall of the sacred edifice:

Côr *Silin*, lle cerais sylwi—genyf
Mae'n gynhes dy feini,
Am fod hyd ddydd cyfodi,
Huw Morys wrth d'ystlys di.[3]

[1] *Eos Ceiriog*, Preface, p. xx. [2] ibid, p. xxii. [3] ibid, p. xxiii.

Mr. David Samwell, to whom reference has been made as his biographer, wrote the following lines to Huw Morus' memory, which very aptly summarise the aim and purpose of his poems :

To cherish virtue, to exalt the soul,
To sway the passions with a mild controul,
Mankind from vice by pow'rful verse to draw,
And teach of justice the eternal law.
Of nature's works, to point the secret plan,
And shew the social ties that govern man :
How happiness, on virtue's ways attends,
And vicious passion, in destruction ends.
How soon terrestrial bodies pass away,
Whilst the soul triumphs in immortal day :
Were themes he chose—and with a skill divine
Gave truth new lustre in his nervous line.[1]

Edmund Prys (1541-1623-4), although he spent the greater part of his long life in the sixteenth century, composed much of his best work in the seventeenth. His metrical version of the psalms, which has been already noticed, appeared in 1621, and his other poetic work must now claim our attention. It is difficult to determine who was his bardic mentor. Some have asserted that William Llŷn had that honour, but this is mere conjecture. Others affirm that Sion Tudur taught him the mysteries of the *cynghanedd*, and rest their assertion on a *Cywydd* written by Edmund Prys to that bard, in which he states :

Athraw ydwyt, a thradoeth
A cholofn y gerdd ddofn ddoeth
. . . . . .
Disgybl wyf o dasg gwbl (waith)
Yspas hir, yspus araith.[2]

It is quite certain that the purpose of this *cywydd* was to ask Sion Tudur for two books of grammar, "dau lyfr i dwned," and this would be a likely request from pupil to master. Sion Tudur was a Canon of St. Asaph, and on his death, in 1602, Edmund Prys was appointed. None of these things are conclusive proof, but they do show there were certain links between the two men. Perhaps a man of the Archdeacon's attainments hardly required a bardic mentor. He lived in the atmosphere of bards at Maentwrog. On one side of him were the Llwyds of Cynfal, Hugh and

[1] *Cambrian Register*, i., 1795, p. 439. [2] *Enwogion y Ffydd*, i., p. 67.

David, both devoted to the muse, and excelling in the exercise of poetry, and on the other side the Phylips of Ardudwy, Sion and William, both of them excellent bards, and living less than half a day's journey from Edmund Prys.

William Cynwal, in his controversy with the latter, insinuated that he was not a graduated bard, but there were scores of good bards who were not so. Amongst those who took bardic degrees at Caerwys in 1568 the names of no clergy appear. It was only the professional bards who required a licence. The clergy, for the most part, had graduated at the Universities, and it was unlikely they would submit to tests such as those imposed at Caerwys.

Hugh Llwyd, of Cynfal, and the Archdeacon were close friends. The former had spent many years in the army in different countries on the Continent, but came home to his patrimony to end his days. On his death in 1620, Edmund Prys composed the following well-known *englyn:*

"Holl gampau doniau a dynwyd—o'n tir,
Maentwrog yspeiliwyd;
Ni chleddir, ac ni chladdwyd,
Fyth i'w llawr o fath Hugh Llwyd."[1]

Sion Phylip, o Fochras, died in the same year as Hugh Llwyd. He had a bardic contention with Edmund Prys, as will be presently noticed.

One of the first poetic exercises of the Archdeacon's was an ode entitled "Awdl ein Prynedigaeth," otherwise known as "Awdl i Fair." It savours rather of Mariolatry, and his two antagonists, Sion Phylip and William Cynwal, fastened on it as an example of Prys' unorthodoxy. It was a feeble production, evidently a first effort to write in *cynghanedd*. He had made considerable strides when he wrote next, "Awdl i ddyn o'i ddechreu i'w ddiwedd,"[2] which describes different periods in the life of man, and begins as follows:

"Y maban yn wan unwaith—y genir
Ac yna i dwf perffaith;
Ban el yn faban eilwaith
Buan daw i ben ei daith."

[1] Glan Menai's *Edmund Prys*, p. 53. [2] *Gwyliedydd* (xii., p. 24).

Two of his best compositions are "Cywydd i'r Byd" and "Cywydd y Nef."[1] In the latter he describes the glory and worship of heaven:

Lle bydd llawenydd i'r llu,
Llyfr gwyn a llafar ganu,
Lle caiff Ion byth glodforedd,
Lle cyflawn hylawn o hedd;
Lle mae'r Oen a fu 'n poeni,
Yr Iesu 'm ner drosom ni;
Lle cair heb ballu cariad,
Gwlêdd yr Oen, fy Arglwydd o'i rad;
Llyna'r man y llenwir mawl
I'r Gwir Dduw yn dragwyddawl.

In his "Cywydd Helynt i'r Byd," Edmund Prys shows that he has mastered all the intricacies of the bardic craft. In the Tanybwlch MS. this is called "Cywydd yn erbyn Anllywodraeth y Cedyrn." Its opening lines are:

Gwelais eira glwys oerwyn,
Ir, heb un brisg, ar ben bryn.
Gwelais haul teg gloyw sail twyn,
Yn ei doddi, nod addfwyn.
Yr un modd wedi toddai,
O'r fron i'r afon yr ai;
A'r afon yn union nod
I 'mryson a'r môr isod.

He goes on to draw an analogy between Nature and the life of man:

Y bryn yw gwedd bonedd byd;
Bryn bonedd bwriai 'n benyd.
Swyddogion yw'r afonydd
Rhy esgud yn symud sydd;
Ar i wared y rhedant,
Llwybr pawb yw y lle bo'r pant.

In this poem he employs most useful and happy analogies, many of them very original and striking, and with them he interleaves some of the old Welsh proverbs, for instance:

Rhaid i'r gwan ddal y gannwyll
I'r dewr i wneuthur ei dwyll.
. . . . . .
Gwyllt yw byd, gwell ydyw bodd,
Yr ynfyd na'i wir anfodd.
. . . . . .
Nid annodd y diffoddan
A dwr wreichionen o dân.

[1] *Gwyliedydd*, x., p. 281.

Cywydd i'r Eryr, composed in 1600, is another composition found in the Tanybwlch MS., and is, perhaps, his first poem in the period under notice. *Cywydd y Credo* is a poetical summary of the Apostles' Creed. "Cywydd Mwythus i Ferch i erchi iddi naill ai dyfod ai peidio" is one of his few amatory compositions, and contains some very fine lines. Its reference seems to be to a lover's quarrel, and the bard seeks reconciliation, but at the same time stands a little on his dignity:

Nis down i, er estyn nôd,
Ddau gam oni ddoe gymod.
. . . . . .
Lliw'r od, os myn gymodi
Wiw oleuferch, wele fi.
. . . . . .
Os parod i gymodi,
Pryd a fynn, parod wyf fi.
. . . . . .
Diofal nid wy' afiach,
Deled, neu beidied, fûn bach!

Perhaps no Welsh bard has sung more beautifully of the sanctity of the marriage tie than Edmund Prys in the following lines taken from *Cywydd Priodas a'i Braint:*

Un gyfoeth, medd iawn gofiwr,
Ag un gorph yw Gwen a'i gwr;
A chyfran o bob anedd,
O waith a maeth, hi ai medd.
Cyd gariad, cenad, cywir;
Cyd ymgeledd mewn hedd hir;
Cyd waith, cyd afiaeth ufudd,
Clyfaredd rhag caredd cûdd,
Cyd hilio plant, cyd haeledd,
A chyd o febyd i fedd.

Most of his poems take the *cywydd* form, but he also essayed the *englyn*, which had not come into such frequent use in his time. Here is an example, in which he declaimed against the use of tobacco, although it is stated that he afterwards fell a victim to the weed:

Tra b'ych byw, a gwych heb gur—na gwaew
Na gwewyr na llafur,
Nac arfer i sychder sur
Mwg dail rhag magu dolur.[1]

Like other learned bards of his age he wrote Latin lines with

[1] *Gwyliedydd*, xii., 316.

considerable facility. The following *englyn* to "The Miser" is a good example of his attainments in this direction:

Parcus avarus vorat—ut amnis,
Et omnia desiderat,
Cupit ut omnia capiat,
Nil vero pro Deo dat.

Apart from his metrical version of the psalms, he wrote a few other poems in the free metres, and the following stanza from his *Cydsain Cerddorion yn Glyn Haelicon*, written in 1600, will serve as an instance of his superior skill in this form of poetry:

Llef a roeson llafur weision,
Ddoe a glywsom, dan wydd gleision,
Glwysaidd ac Eglwysaidd;
Teiroes i'r pencerddi tirion,
Llinos o'r llwyn Eos irion,
Dwysaidd, Baradwysaidd:
Bronfraith bur araeth bêr walch
A'r Fwyalch fwya'i hawydd:
Ysgido gyll drythyll dro,
Yn chwyddo llais yr Ehedydd.
Yn canu, yn tanu,
Cymaint o Awenydd,
Cyn hoywed, cyn groywed,
Ac un gywir newydd.[1]

Apart from his *Salmau Mydryddol*, none of his work seems to have been published until 1686, under which year Moses Williams records in his *Cofrestr* "Caniadau Edmwnd Prys," but it is evident that they are the same poems, which appeared in the same year in a collection made by Foulke Owens of Nantglyn, of carols and lyrics by various authors, including Rowland Vaughan, John Wynne, William Phylip, Morris Richard, Thomas Lloyd o Benmaen, Edward Morus, Huw Morus, and many others. A second and more correct edition of this book was published by Thomas Jones, Shrewsbury, in 1696. The title of this work is as follows: "Cerddlyfr, yr hwn sydd yn cynnwys amryw Garolau, a dyrifau o waith amryw awdwyr, Ac a gasglwyd ynghyd gan Foulke Owens, o Nantglyn, yn Sir Ddinbych."

A very favourite exercise amongst the bards from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards was the *Cywydd Ymryson*,

[1] Glan Menai's *Edmwnd Prys*, pp. 67-8. See also *Y Blodeugerdd*, p. 340.

in which they tilted at each other, and not always in the best spirit. A noted instance is the contest of Dafydd ab Gwilym with Gruffydd Grug, and also with Rhys Meigan. Edmund Prys indulged in two poetic frays of this nature, one with Sion Phylip, and the other, which was longer and more bitter, with William Cynwal. The only thing that can be said in favour of this paper warfare is that it occasionally produced a good *cywydd*. Edmund Prys' contention with Sion Phylip started concerning a dagger owned by the Archdeacon and highly valued by him, because of its workmanship and that it had been made in Edinburgh. Sion Phylip, knowing this, wrote a *cywydd* to one Rhys Wyn of Trawsfynydd, perhaps a friend of Prys, to ask for it. It was the custom of gentlemen at the time to bestow a gift which a bard asked for in verse. The Archdeacon sent the dagger to Sion Phylip, at the same time drawing his attention to many errors in the *cywydd* in which he had asked for it. This was just what the Ardudwy bard wanted, and gave the opportunity for starting the contest, which he must have regretted before the finish, for he was no match for Edmund Prys, who kept his temper and answered his scurrilous abuse with provoking good nature. In the meantime Edmund Prys discovered that there was someone aiding and abetting Sion Phylip, and he turned his full armoury upon him with the effect that he withdrew from the contest—vanquished. Sion Phylip found fault with Prys for taking up bardism, which shows the jealousy of the professional bards towards those who, like the Archdeacon, indulged in poetry as a hobby :

Bai mawr i neb ymyryd
Ar ddau beth o raddau byd.
. . . . . .
Bid fyw ai wybod o fil
Arf ing wrth yr Efengil.

Edmund Prys replied with fine scorn :

Erchaist fyw orchest o fil
Er fy angen o'r Efengil,
Ni cheisiaf fi na chas faeth
Na chlera na chwilwriaeth
Nid mwy'r dreth ar bregethau
Er gyru tâl o'r gair tau.

And to show that he had discovered that Sion Phylip was backed by someone in the contest, he added :

Sen a roist mewn synwyr wan
Nid o honod dy hunan,
Eithr ydynt ryw athrodwyr
I'th annog, ynt waeth na gwyr.

His "Cywydd moliant gwatwarus i Sion Phylip," with its biting sarcasm, ended the controversy. That ode finishes with these lines :

Oni chenaist ni chwynaf,
Terfyn dan erfyn a wnaf ;
A doeded bardd Ardudwy,
A'i fin mel, a fyno mwy.

The victim's reply is contained in *Cywydd i ofyn Cymod Edmwnd Prys*, a very obsequious ode, in which he compares the latter to Plato and Augustine, praises his scholarly attainments, refers to his noble origin, his physical strength, his knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and especially of his own, and his distinction as a bard. On the latter point he writes :

Mae awenydd mwy ynod
Nag a wyr fyth gwyr i fod.
. . . . . .
Tydain gall tad awen gynt,
Tydain wyt o ddawn atynt.

He ends with a humble apology for having invited the contest, expresses his contrition, and pleads forgiveness :

Nid addas gwylwas golew
I'r oen llaeth gyffroi'r hen llew.

Edmund Prys had a minor contest with Thomas Prys, of Plas Iolyn, who wrote "Cywydd Duchan i Edmwnd Prys," but it was only an auxiliary effort to strengthen William Cynwal, whom he felt was being severely handled in the contest, which shall now be related.

In its duration, and the number of compositions written by each, this struggle stands out supreme in the history of bardic contentions, and its bitterness was such that popular opinion believed that William Cynwal had died of shame, although there is no evidence offered in support of this. The latter bard was a blacksmith, and one of the graduates of Caerwys. Prys, in one

of his *cywyddau*, informs us that he lived at Yspytty Ifan, although his name is mostly associated with Penmachno. Fifty-four *cywyddau* were composed in this contention, in addition to *Cywydd Marwnad William Cynwal* composed by Prys when he heard of the latter's death. Goronwy Owen, after reading the controversy between the two bards, gave it as his opinion that Cynwal was the better bard, but that Prys had the advantage of him in learning. He compared it to a contest of bare fists against shield and breast-plate.

It originated in a promise on the part of William Cynwal of a light steel bow to an old gentleman named Rhys Wyn, who was fond of the diversion of shooting at a target, but who found that ordinary bows overtaxed his strength, and the latter asked the Archdeacon, who was present at the time, if he would write a *cywydd* to ask for it. Edmund Prys was willing, and William Cynwal said he agreed to this, on condition that *he* was to name the subject. His long delay in sending this to the Archdeacon was taken to mean that he wanted to relinquish his promise. At last Edmund Prys, at Rhys Wyn's desire, wrote the *cywydd* without waiting for the subject to be named. Cynwal replied that he had sent the bow to Mr. Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn. Two years passed, and the promise was still unfulfilled, and when the Archdeacon met the bard, he reminded him of it, for he had broken the almost inviolate rule that a gift should be bestowed on him who asked for it in this way, and Edmund Prys showed him that in like circumstances he, William Cynwal, would expect to receive the gift. Cynwal felt the reproof, and sent a *cywydd*, together with a letter, showing his *achau*, intimating that the Archdeacon had not given his, a usual procedure in asking a boon. Edmund Prys replied with a *cywydd* and a letter, and twelve compositions of this kind passed between them. Then the Archdeacon began to write three effusions to one of William Cynwal's, and the latter replied with three. Edmund Prys next composed nine to his three. He replied with nine. Prys wrote a merciless criticism of his work. In effect, it resolved itself into

a struggle between a graduated bard and an unprofessional bard, for William Cynwal had chosen to criticise Prys on this latter ground, a procedure which naturally put him on his mettle.

The Archdeacon more and more criticised the style and workmanship of his antagonist's poems, making full use of his sarcasm, and showing that they contained the fifteen faults of *cerdd dafod*, and much false teaching, dangerous to soul and body, and ending up his letter with the trenchant words "O achos hyn yr ydwyf yn deall, mai am na fedrwch nac adnabod bai, na rhoddi drosoch, yr ydych heb ddyfod yn fy wyneb. Da y gwna mab heb ddyfod i'r maes, am na fedr na tharo na derbyn. Ewch yn iach! Eich cydfrawd mewn cerdd dafod, Edmwnd Prys." When William Cynwal had written nineteen *cywyddau*, the Archdeacon received the news of his death, and composed a fine elegy on the loss of one, whom he termed in great sincerity "y fath fardd godidog." The controversy had produced thirty-five *cywyddau* from the Archdeacon's pen, and one *marwnad*.

These compositions show, amongst other things, that much animosity existed between the graduated and ungraduated bards. Cynwal had written:

"Pybyr oedd pawb a raddwyd."

To which Prys had replied:

"Gwr heb radd pan ddaw ger bron
Gwyr ddal rhai o'r graddolion.

Cynwal's *cywyddau* bore ungrudging testimony to Edmund Prys' ability, both as a preacher and as a scholar. He wrote:

Dy bregeth hyd y brigyn,
O Dduw a ddaeth, yn dda i ddyn;
Erioed egluro ydwyd,
Gair Duw, ei agoriad wyd!
Lladinwr hael diweniaith,
A Groegwr wyd, grugor iaith:
Os mawr oedd Siomer addysg,
Dy gorph mae'n llawn dawn a dysg.

It was part of Cynwal's defence that he had never attacked Prys behind his back:

Ni ddywedais yn y ddeudir,
Yn hynaws iawn, hyn sy wir;
Yn dy gefn enaid y gwan,
Gwr gwiw-gorff un gair gogan.

One of the chief charges brought by Prys was that Cynwal had denied his promise. He flourished before him the testimony of his own letter :

" Llythyr a geidw fal gwarchead,
Llwyr gof fel na ellir gwâd.
. . . . . .
Ai ryfeddu wr hefyd,
Wadu'r gair ai dori i gyd."

William Cynwal most strenuously defended himself against this charge :

" Ni thorais rhaith ddihareb,
Ar a wn i, air i neb ;
Ni wedais er a nodych,
Fy llaw a'i gwaith, fy llew gwych.
. . . . . .
Nid wyf mewn barn a dyfyn,
Llai fawrhad mor llwfr a hyn."

And he advises the Archdeacon to confine himself to the duties of his sacred office :

" Gwyddost gyfraith y gwiw - Dduw,
Gwreiddia ddysg gwna gerdd i Dduw."

Edmund Prys resents the advice, and insists on drawing attention to Cynwal's imperfections as a bard, and exhorts him to study the works of the better bards that were before him :

" Neddaist wawd, ni wyddaist ti,
Boeth Gynwal, beth a geni
. . . . . .
Edrych y fwynwych fonwent,
Hanes enw cerdd yr hen Sion Cent."

He refuses to have his attention diverted from the main point, *viz.*, that Cynwal had been false to his promise. He insists that the value of true poetry is that it rests on truth :

" A gano ffug yn y ffau,
Ar gil, ni ddaw i'r golau ;
A gano wir ac ni wâd,
A gai lewyrch goleuad.
. . . . . .
A gano wir heb ddig neb,
Gwŷs iawn dengys ei wyneb,
A fo drwg ar ei fydr wan,
Eiddil oll a ddel allan ;
Ni wyddost er a neddir,
O boeth gwawd beth yw gwir."

Cynwal's reply is to taunt his adversary that he is no bard, that he was untaught and had no bardic status:

> "Os prydydd wyd llwyd rhag llaw,
> Hap wawd uthr, pwy yw d' athraw?
> . . . . . .
> Ni elli gael ffael syth ffydd,
> Offeiriadaeth a Phrydydd."

Prys' reply to this was to disclose Cynwal's faults in *cynghanedd* and to charge him with want of soul and sense. He challenges him to consent to arbitration before twelve bards and a Justice of the Peace, but Cynwal steadily refused this offer, pleading his age as an excuse. It must be remembered that he was over seventy at the time. The Archdeacon was some years his junior. There is evidence in the poems that both combatants were tiring of the fray, for the early *cywyddau* much excel the later ones. These became deadly monotonous in their later stages, and there is small wonder, for the theme was not inspiring. The gist of the Archdeacon's many hundred lines is to deprecate his opponent's want of learning, and to re-iterate his perfidy, whilst Cynwal's lines with weary monotony maintain the status of the graduated bard and their monopoly of the favours of the Muse. Prys sometimes sneers at the professional bards, whose life was mostly spent, he insinuates, in passing from one banquetting chamber to another:

> "Nid llyfr Duw, nid llwybr deall
> Yw'r llwybr o'r neithior i'r llall."

But from the right food that sustains poetry, Cynwal had rigorously maintained a long fast:

> "Gwawdydd newynog ydwyd
> Ni thewi, ni fyni fwyd."

There is a suggestion in some of Edmund Prys' lines that he regarded his opponent with much contempt, looking down upon him from the pedestal of learning:

> "Ofer iawn o ferw imi
> Ymhlith iaith ymhel a thi."

He compares Cynwal's laborious efforts to a mill grinding where there is not grist:

> "Melin wyd yn malu'n wag,"

In another *cywydd* he compares him to a harmless fly :

" Gwell un gwalch da gall hwn ged
Aml wib na mil o wybed."

In another there is a reference to his own personal appearance, when he states that his wrath against Cynwal is not as black as his visage :

" Nid wyf, Wiliam, ddu fy eiliw
I'm llid mor greulon—a'm lliw."

There are a few interesting lines in which Prys with much penetration describes certain national characteristics, as they then existed :

" Y Ffleming o chaiff lymaid
Mynai ar win fwy na'i raid ;
A swydd llawer Sais heddyw
I lenwi 'i fol yn ei fyw ;
Temtasiwn y nasiwn ni
Tra hygawl yw trwy wegi,
A rhoi glust a rhugl osteg ;
I'w glod i hun arogl teg ;
A choelio pob gwrach hylwybr
I adnabod pob peth dan wybr."

Different sections of society, he maintains, are interdependent:

" A phawb sydd a phob swyddau
Drwy 'u gilydd fel gweydd yn gwau ;
A phob un a phawb ai wŷdd
Gydag elw a geidw 'i gilydd
. . . . . .
Rhaid i bawb yr hyd i bydd
Wrth gael hirwaith i gilydd."

And in this connection he does not forget to impress Cynwal that bardism is dependent upon learning :

" Rhaid i fardd rhuad ferw-ddawn
Wrth ddysg o gwnai araith iawn.
Nid rhaid i ddysg tra ddod ddydd
Iaith barodwaith wrth brydydd.
A fedro ddysg ymysg mil
Mwy nag un Art mae'n gynil ;
Finau er fy nifenwi
A fedraf bart o'ch Art chwi."

The death of William Cynwal, as has been stated, finished the contest, and Edmund Prys' *Marwnad* is another illustration of the truth of the old proverb " Os mynni glod, bydd farw," for it is a pæan of praise from beginning to end, as such effusions

generally were. It takes the form, much affected at the time, of a dialogue between the living bard and the messenger who announced the death of Cynwal. The late controversy is explained thus:

"Nid o gas y canaswn
Ond o serch yn dewis hwn."

The elegy concludes with lines full of regretful longing for the dead bard, and an unstinted tribute of admiration for his prowess in verse:

"Gwawdydd fardd gadawodd fi
O'r diwedd drwy hir dewi;
Tra fu yn mathu in' mysg
Aur a gemau ar gymysg;
. . . . . .
Tad mawl mae mewn tyfod mân,
Tyfod Yspytty Ifan.
Duw yn ei gofi da iawn gyflwr
Doe aeth ag ef doetha gwr,
I eistedd fod Crist a'i noddfa
Llys deg llawn ewyllys da;
Oddi yno ni ddaw enyd
Ond teg yw awn ato i gyd."

The merits of the controversy between Edmund Prys and William Cynwal have been discussed by many writers. Some have thought that the former was too severe, and that his vast store of learning should have made him a more lenient critic of one whose advantages in this direction had been so meagre. On the other hand it must be remembered that these contests were looked upon by the bards as special opportunities for rapier thrusts, and the whole bardic fraternity of that part of Wales were probably interested spectators of the contest and sided with one or other of the antagonists. We have already noticed how, on one occasion, Thomas Prys, of Plas Iolyn, came to the rescue of a bard who was getting the worst of it. Edmund Prys also felt that he was championing the cause of a numerous class, which did not belong to the fraternity, whose arrogant claims are so frequently asserted in Cynwal's lines. Measured by the standard of our own age, a close inspection of these *cywyddau ymryson* does not reveal much that is contrary to good taste and literary

propriety. The personal thrusts were common to both sides, and certainly would not be considered scurrilous, or even ungentlemanly, in the early part of the seventeenth century. One can well agree with the critic who wrote: "Ni welsom erioed ddadl lenyddol yn cael ei dwyn ymlaen yn fwy cymhedrol, boneddigaidd, a dysgedig. Y mae'n wir bod y naill a'r llall weithiau yn bur llym, ond nid ydynt byth yn troseddu rheolau moesau da; ac i'n bryd ni y mae'r ddadl, yn anibynol ar werth mewnol y cywyddau, yn esiampl odidog o ddau wr bonheddig yn dadleu ar bynciau llenyddol."[1]

Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, who must be allowed the first place amongst the Welsh prose writers of original work in this century, had also considerable attainments as a poet and hymn-writer. A collection of his songs, hymns, and *englynion* was made in 1899 by the late T. E. Ellis, M.P. for Merionethshire, and in it we find no less than fifty-two poetical pieces of various kinds in Welsh and English. The majority of them are in English. They deal mostly with the times in which he lived, and are permeated with the theological tenets of the Fifth Monarchy men. They also throw considerable light on the isolation in which Morgan Llwyd found himself towards the end of his days, when his ideals were shattered and many of his followers had deserted him. At the same time, no one who reads them can doubt the sincerity of his convictions. The predominant note in his poems is disappointment. He sits like the prophet of old under his juniper tree, and in despair yearns for death. The first poem in the collection is entitled "The Desolation, Lamentation and Resolution of the Welsh Saincts in the Late Warrs. Sung in 1643." Its opening lines strike the minor key, which is preserved almost throughout his poems, except in an occasional stanza of his hymns, in which, in a flight of spiritual ecstasy, he rises above the hard facts of his position at the time. He has, occasionally, severe things to say of those who have deserted him, to whose unfaithfulness he ascribes the failure

[1] *Hanes y Brytaniaid a'r Cymru*, vol. ii., p. 421.

of his cause. At the same time, he is not without hope that the future will justify him. He regards himself as living in the winter of the world, which must soon give place to the awakening life of spring, the sunshine and joy of summer, and the ripe harvest of autumn. In political and religious matters, he aims his shafts at the Parliament, Presbyterians, Scotch, Dutch, Church of England, and Pope in turns. Perhaps his most bitter invective is employed against the last named. All his verse proclaims him the strong, resolute partisan, who will not recede an inch from the position he has taken up, cost it what it may. But in maintaining that position the iron has entered into his soul. Apart from his hymns, his bitterness is felt in every page, but there can also be traced signs of a spirit mellowing under affliction, which is ready to forgive much, which revolts against faction, and has an unquenchable longing for unity, but that unity is to be achieved by no departure from his own rigid tenets. The opening lines of the poem just referred to, are as follows :

" Mae honom ychydig, e blant cystuddiedig
A adawyd yn unig ynghymru.
Ynghanol ein cystudd, yn cwyno iw gilydd
An calon sydd beynydd yn pallu.
. . . . . .
Mae'r defaid ar wasgar, mewn tristwch a galar
Mae rhai yn y carchar yn pydru.
Mae rhai wedi ymadel, gan gymryd hir ffarwel
Mae rhai yn y dirgel yn llechu.
Mae rhyfedd newidiad, dros wyneb yr hollwlad
Ple ceir dim gwir gariad mewn undyn.
y byd a dywyllodd, y ddayar a grynnodd,
ar nefoedd a ddudd in herbyn.
. . . . . .
Diffoddwyd pob canwyll, holl gymru sydd dywyll,
ple ceir undyn didwyll drwy'r hollwlad.
fe gwympodd rhai cryfion, fe ballodd y moddion
fe oerodd ein calon an cariad."

There is no doubt in these lines, written in 1643, that Morgan Llwyd regarded the Civil War, at the first, as putting an end to God's Kingdom in Wales, for he writes :

" Ei wyneb a guddiodd, ei foliant a gollodd,
Ei Deyrnas a gwympodd ynghymru."

The beating of the drums and the sounding of the bugles

were to him the sign that men's sins had overtaken them, and that God had turned away his face in anger. But he predicts that a return to God will bring changed conditions:

"Ond etto er cynted, y bom ni llawn addfed
fe droir ein caethiwed ni'n gyflym.
. . . . . .
Er bod y tywyllwch, y gauaf a'r tristwch,
y nos ar anialwch ynghymru
yr haul a fyn godi, y wawr a fyn dorri,
A Christ fyn reoli heb pallu."

There are already signs in his verse that he regarded the upheaval of the Civil War as a prelude to the establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth:

"Cawn weled ei wrthiau, cawn gyfwrdd ai seintiau
cawn gadw'n eneidiau'n dragywydd."

This belief in the millenium he makes more evident in his poem, "Our Lord is coming once againe":

"When he appears we shall rejoyce, as many as are his,
and judge the world and with him bee, in everlasting blisse."

As he contemplates the event, he rises to a height of spiritual ecstasy, and declaims:

"Hosanna crye King Jesus comes, He-ele summer with him bring
A meeke just strong faire lasting Prince
Again Hosanna sing."

The spiritual "winter" of the nations, he ascribes to Beelzebub and "the Pope, his son and foole," whose health the peoples had drunk too long, "till their wits were drowned." But the spring is coming:

"God's twins (the testaments) speake loud
that Michael long shall raigne."

It is being prepared for by the clash of nations and the fall of thrones:

"The nations are on potters wheeles
the ancient thrones do shake."

The darkness is but the worst hour before the dawn:

"But one houre before day is darke
that great Ecclypse is near
one fierce and farewell storme and then
the evening will bee cleare."

To bring about this consummation, however, he pleads for the

unity of Christendom. He argues that the points of agreement are many, and the points of difference small and few :

"Its true we differ in small points
as clocks in cittyes do
some travellers do lag behind
Who yet to Salem go.

Know that Christs army hath two wings
and diffring colours all
his house hath divers sorted rooms
his trees are short and tall.

Mens faces, voices, differ much,
saincts are not all one size
flowers in one garden vary too
lett none monpolize.

In our Gamaliel's schoole there are
and will bee many forms
and divers branches on one root
that clash in time of storms.

Out of all these will Christ compound
an army for himselfe
so satan gets of all these sects
the parings and the pelfe."

He does not definitely state what parts of Christendom he expects to unite, and possibly confines his vision to the sects who had broken away from the Church in this land. He obviously omits Rome, unless the latter was willing to be "*cured*":

"Rome was the hammer of the earth
now lady comes thy day
and thou Italian gouted leg
be cur-d or cutt away."

Ireland's subjection to Rome also necessitates a course of *physick* for her before she can be admitted into the scope of the bard's vision of unity :

"Ireland looks like a fallow-ground
thou must be plow-d againe
thou shalt have physick that will kill
thy worms that do thee paine."

He claims that what is wrong with Rome is that she places the letter before the spirit :

"Papists the letter of God's word
above the meaning prize."

As his ideals seem to dissipate into thin air, his opinion of man grows worse, and he refers to mankind as "a shallow shell,"

He has best expressed it in his two *englynion* entitled *Eiddiledd Dyn:*

"Mor egwan, mor wan, mor wael—mor wrthyn
Mal erthyl di-afael.
Ymrwyfydd mewn ymrafael
Yw pob dyn ai fûn ai fael.

Mo dduw yn ei fyw ni fyn—mawr alaeth
Marwolaeth ai dyfyn
(Pan wywo y blodeûyn)
Aiff ymaith ir daith ar dyn."

In his poem "Sweet Master Christ," he upbraids himself with having been guided too much by Reason and too little by Faith:

"Sweet Master Christ, bring me ashore
I promise through thy might
Never to worship Reason more
Nor follow fancyes light."

The dissolution of the body he regards as a setting free from "the wombe of this darke world." The ideal life is one of *soberness;* dulness, sorrow, and laughter, which he terms "folly in chiefe," are to be avoided in its favour. Wisdom is "the chiefest thing." The only real peace is inward peace, the only real strength to rest in God:

"I am immoovable with thee
I moove and do not moove."

A frequent prayer on his lips is for the conversion of the Jews:

"Difetha Anghrist ymhob gwlad
tro attad yr Iddewon."

His enmity against the Scots for the part they played in the Civil War is unbounded. He dubs them "the northerne Brokers" and a "forraine foe."

"Gwel fy llygaid, frynniau Scottiaid
ysgatfydd mae nhw'n uchel
yr Arglwydd mawr mewn mynud awr
ai tynn nhwy i lawr yn isel."

His antagonism to Charles I. he makes no effort to disguise, and argues that looking at things "from first to last" his sentence was well merited:

"Looke not too much on few late things
View all from first to last
Since James his dayes, and wonder not
that such a sentence past.

Though this pen loaths to touch dead Charles
it warns the living all
lest any stumble at his corps,
and breake their necks withall."

It is obvious that he expected a great change after the King's downfall:

"Fowre things expect within few years
To men a Judge most strange
To Rome a fall. To Jewes a call
To heaven and earth a change."

In his poem, "Hanes rhyw Gymro," he sketches a history of his own life, and relates his wanderings through various cities, and pauses to contemplate man himself under the allegory of a city:

"Dinas fawr iw Dyn ei hunan
Gwae a elo o honi allan
Gwae nid el o hono i hunan
Gwae a dricco yn i unfan."

In this poem he makes some sober reflections on time, on the world, and on experience:

"Amser byrr sy'n torri teyrnas
Mynud awr sy'n codi dinas
. . . . . .
Mae'r holl ddayar fel dilledyn
A newidir mewn un flwyddyn
. . . . . .
Gwelais lai a mwy nam tadau,
Gwel fy meibion fwy na minnau."

But the mystic year 1660 is to put all things right:

"Nid i'w oes y byd ond wythnos
ar mawr sabbath sydd yn agos
Paratowch cyn dyfod trigain
Gwae'r Twrk, Cythrel, Cnawd, a Rhufain.
ynys brydain yn y gogledd
a dyrr Europe yn y diwedd
Brenin mawr a ddaw o'r dwyrain
Mae fo yn agos: cenwch blygain."
. . . . . .
"Cyn mil a chwechant a chwe deg
mae blwyddyn deg yn dyfod."

To teach his children wisdom (as he states) he wrote a summary of his life, describing it in five stages, each represented by a sacred mount, *viz.*, Olives, Sinai, Sion, Gilboa, and Nebo:

"Fy hanes i i gyd yw hyn
o fryn i fryn tramwyais."

On the first mount he tasted regeneration, on the second he felt the terror of the Law, on the third he found mercy and peace, on the fourth controversy and war, and from the summit of the last :

" Rwi'n awr yn gweled Canaan wych
llei caf (wrth edrych) hedeg."

In his poem, " Iechyd ir Corph," he has enumerated twenty maxims for physical and moral health. They are written in couplets, and are little gems of wisdom, each worthy of finding a place as a proverb in the language :

" Mewn pryd bydd synhwyrol
am iechyd naturiol
Ymgadw rhag afraid
A gochel dy lonaid
a thristwch a phechod
a phryf y gydwybod
Yn gyntaf bydd nefol
yn ail bydd naturiol.
Diweirdeb naturiaeth
iw'r iawn bysygwriaeth.
Yn gynnil ymbortha,
Drwy chwys bwytta fara.
Na waria yn ofer
un fodfedd o'th amser."

He has several shafts directed against Holland, which was at war with England in the early days of the Commonwealth :

" Some Dutch are deep suspicious birds
false drunken beasts withall.
. . . . . .
Holland begins to pledge you all,
And sipps the wrathfull cup.
And peace with them you shall not make,
lest you with Ahab sup."

He has a beautiful stanza defining the soul :

" Rhyw sylwedd ysbrydol, Rhyw ysbryd tragwyddol
Rhyw gysgod or nefol naturiaeth
Rhyw dân oddiuchod. Rhyw anadl y Duwdod
iw'r Enaid ai waelod naturiaeth,"

The avidity of man in business pursuits, and his apathy towards hearing the word of God, he describes in the following stanza :

"Teithio i'r farchnad, prynnu ŷd
a thalu'n ddrud am dano
Er bod gair Duw yn llyniaeth gwell
nid ei di neppell erddo."

His ministry at Wrexham is described in the poem, "A Song of my Beloved concerning his Vineyard," in which he presents the contrast between "what they were" and "what they are now." It will be remembered that the majority of his former friends refused to follow him in his extreme views. Apparently his first fifteen years there were lived in harmony with his followers:

"full fifteene yeares they had showers
and dew from heaven sweet
There sprung up also many flowers
and saincts at Jesus' feet.
. . . . . .
But now the bryers are come up
and thorns and thistles tall
therefore with Christ they do not sup
in ordinances all."

He puts to his late flock the same queries as those asked by the prophet in the fifth chapter of Isaiah:

"And for my vineyard what could I
have done more than I did
I looked for fruit not for a lye
but found corruption hid.
And now Wales England judge I pray
between me and my vine,
find out the cause without delay
See if the fault be mine."

In a poem headed "1654," he describes the three Commonwealth parliaments as "The long old Parliament," "The hott young Parliament," and "The third slow Parliament," and he describes the uncertainty of the times and the multitude of counsels that prevailed, in the following lines:

"Aske nowe what shall be next
the folks have many minds
few can expound this knotty text
so various are these winds."

At the end of his life he sings his *vanitas vanitatum* in the poem entitled, "All things are vaine and full of paine," and he longs for death to release him:

" My heart is now I know not how,
lord, when wilt thou by death mee kisse.
. . . . . .
Straight steps I see for you and mee,
lord make me free, thou knowest how.
. . . . . .
My withered heart, within doth smart
My witt & art do quite mee faile
My mind & voice cannot rejoyce
when shall I hoyse up my last saile?
. . . . . .
I proved joy and every toy
I found them coy & full of sin
Thy blessed breast I love it best
when shall I rest & rowle therein?"

This is followed by his "Hymn o Hiraeth am Baradwys." In it there is ample evidence of the heavy sufferings of his life, and his longing to be at rest :

" Llei mae distawrwydd byth heb gri
llei mae goleuni disclair
lle byth nim cyrhaedd neb om cas
llei mae i mi blas a chadair.

Er bod y corph yn wael dros ben
bid fenaid lawen hyfryd
di gai dy dynni cyn bo hir
oddiyma i dir y bywyd.
. . . . . .

Lle ni ddaw byth y Cwestiwn pam,
Na chŵyn na chani na chwmwl,
Lle nid oes ofal yn y byd,
Na phwys na phenyd meddwl.
. . . . . .

Cerais o Dduw dy liw a'th llais,
Mi'th gerais am holl egni,
Rwi wedi nofio hyd at y lan,
Nad i mi rowan foddi."

If one interprets his last poem literally, he seems to have died both poor and destitute of friends. He complains that "friends are but broken reeds," and that he had "a charge so great, of children, cares, and thoughts," which "make his heart to sweate," but he upbraids himself for his lack of faith in allowing these worldly considerations to interfere with his peace of mind :

"the more of worldly thoughts I find
the more my heart grows mad."

And yet:

"If man's eternall mind stood still
he should not want poore clay
but when man hunts for earth with will
The earth then runs away."

But with his last thoughts he drives away carking care:

"To morrow cares for selfe I know
sufficient to the houre
is present evill, dig not for wo
It will both grow and sowre."

Sufficient has been culled from his work to show that Morgan Llwyd had the soul of a poet. It was a soul sensitive to pain, but buoyed up by an iron determination to stand true to its convictions. Without doubt he was the greatest Welsh Puritan of this period, an original thinker, and endowed with a capacity for expressing himself in prose and verse second to none among his Welsh contemporaries. He was a better prose writer than poet; but the language would be the poorer, if we were deprived of the thoughts he has enshrined in verse, perhaps, not always in the most felicitous diction, but always with a directness and clearness, which leave one in no doubt as to his meaning. It is a tribute to his courage that he never once in those dangerous times obscured himself behind ambiguous phrases. He sang on no uncertain note, and at his best he sang well. He was a Fifth-monarchy man to the end, and never disavowed his principles, although they involved him in the loss of most, if not all, of his friends.

Rowland Vaughan, of Caergai, who was one of the most ardent Welsh cavaliers, wrote a number of hymns, carols, and lyrics, very few of which have been preserved. In the third edition of *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol*, 1720, there appear seven of his compositions, which consist of two Christmas carols, a poem entitled *Hanes Moses*, a *dyri* comparing man's life to things that perish, another comparing it to a game, and two more describing a sinner's supplication for mercy and forgiveness of sins, and a sinner's confession. In *Dyriau o Ymbil Pechadur am Drugaredd* occur the lines which have become familiar in every Welsh hymn-

book, but which are so often wrongly attributed to Edmund Prys :

"Na thro d'Wyneb, Arglwydd glân,
Oddiwrth un truan agwedd ;
Y sydd o flaen dy Borth yn awr,
Mewn cystudd mawr yn gorwedd."

Rowland Vaughan is also the author of another well-known Whitsun hymn :

"Tyr'd Yspryd Glân, i'n c'lonau ni,
A dod d' oleuni nefol ;
Tydi wyt Yspryd Crist, dy ddawn
Sydd fawr iawn a rhagorol."

At the battle of Naseby, he assisted the Royalist cause with a company of men, but his loyalty cost him dear, for in the following year his home, Caergai, was burned to the ground by the Cromwellians, and his heritage given to a kinsman.

"Caer Gai nid difai fu gwaith tân—arnad,
Oernych wyd yrwan ;
Caer aethost i'm car weithian,
Caer Gai lle bu cywir gân."

William Phylip also mentions the destruction of Caer Gai in the following *englyn :*

"Mil chwe chant gwarant gwiwrai—yn dygwydd,
Pump a deugain difai ;
Er dwyn i'r gwyr adwaenai,
Ar gof pan losgwyd Caer Gai." [1]

He remained a fugitive until the Restoration. Some say he was imprisoned for three years,[2] but this is doubtful. In his wanderings he is supposed to have come across the old bard, William Phylip, of Ardudwy, who was also a fugitive, somewhere in the Merionethshire mountains. Rowland Vaughan relieved his feelings in verse, as follows :

"Pe cawn i'r Pengrynion
Rhwng ceulan ac afon
Ac yn fy llaw goedffon o linon ar li',
Mi a gurwn yn gethin
Yn nghweryl fy mrenin,
Mi a'u gyrrwn yn un byddin i'w boddi."

[1] *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 284. [2] *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, p. 22.

The old bard promptly followed up the theme with all the ardour a septuagenarian could muster :

"Pe cawn i'r Pengryniaid
Ar ben goriwaered,
Er gwaned a hyned wyf heno,
A phastwn du-ddraenen—
'Rwy'n ddeuddeg a thrigain—
Chwi a'm gwelech i'n llawen yn llowio."

At the Restoration, Rowland Vaughan returned to his old home and rebuilt it, and inscribed above the entrance the following stanza :

"Dod glod i bawb yn ddibrin,
A char dy frawd cyffredin ;
Ofna Dduw can's hyn sydd dda,
Ac anrhydedda'r brenin."

There is one poem of his printed in the *Blodeugerdd*, entitled *Adroddiad fal y bu gynt*. It is a recital of the wrongs inflicted by the Puritans and Parliament in the day of their power, from a Royalist standpoint. In it he mentions the injuries done to the churches by the Cromwellians :

"Dirmygu'n pen llywydd, a dryllio'r eglwysydd,
Pan ddaeth y ffydd newydd, mae'n irwin ei brâd,
Hawdd fydd i'r hên ddynion, a'u crefydd yn deillion,
Oedd well eu gweithredon coeth rodiad.
Hwy ddryllien' Organau, a'r Gwydr, a'r Lluniau,
O gâs i'r hên Ddelwau, addolid yn bûr."

. . . . . .

A collection of the poems of Rowland Vaughan is badly needed, and it is impossible to estimate his place among the Welsh bards until this task is accomplished.

Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, was a personal friend of Rowland Vaughan. There is a record of his offering a copy of his *Dictionary* to the latter, with the following *englynion* in his praise :

"Gwr ydych Rowland o gyff—uniawnwaed
Un wna i'w gyrdd gwaewgryff ;
Cywyddau onglau anghlyff ;
Ac Englynion hoywon hyff.
Hwre hyn o lyfr, wr a hyff—gweled
Gwaelawd geirion gyrddbryff;
Cais iddo rwymo, pan ryff,
A gwaisgrwym a ddyg ysgryff." [1]

[1] *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 284.

William Phylip (1577-1669), the bard who has just been noticed in connection with Rowland Vaughan of Caergai, wrote an elegy on the death of Charles I., under the title, *Cywydd Marwnad Siarles y Cyntaf*, 1648-9. He was one of the most devoted Welsh royalists, and for this effusion he fell under the violent resentment of the Cromwellians, lost his property, and took refuge in flight. His deplorable situation, the cause of it, and his strong faith in the Restoration, he commemorates in the following lines;

"Ni feiddiaf, llechaf ar fyd llychwin—'r rhawg,
Gwae ni rai cyffredin,
Am gellwair un gair mewn gwin,
O fawr anhap am *frenin*.
Gad ymaith fwyniaith a fo—bur union,
Fe ddaw brenin eto;
A gad fod ei glod tan glo—
Ust! Wiliam onis delo.
Am ddywedyd hoff fryd wir ffri—ar gân
Mae drwg anhap imi,
Bygwth y maent heb wegi,
Y cledd ar fy nannedd i.
Fe ddaw byd astud di-dostach—didwyll
Haws dywedyd cyfrinach;
A'm calon union yn iach,
A 'nhafod beth yn hyfach.
. . . . . .
Llechu, nid canu, cwynais—oer wewyr,
A'r Awen a gollais,
Braidd fyw—ac yn brudd fy ais,
Wylaw am fyd a welais!
. . . . . .
Ni chaf ddol, maenol, na mynydd—dof,
Na dyfais awenydd,
Na rhoi 'mhen ar obenydd,
Na'r coed led fy nhroed yn rhydd."

His attitude towards Cromwell is expressed without restraint in the following *englyn:*

"Pob tynged galed heb gel,—a gaffo,
Ac uffern ddi dawel;
Cryman am wddw Cromwel,
A chrogbren i'w ddiben ddel."

The story goes that he was imprisoned for this, and made his apology in another *englyn:*

"Dywedaf ſynaf gwae fi—o'r d'wedyd
Ond odid ſy ngweddi;
Goreu dim, gwyr Duw imi,
Wnïo ſy ſafn yn ſoes i."[1]

The aged bard afterwards composed his differences with the Commonwealth, and returned to his home, Hendre Fechan, which was the occasion of the following *englyn:*

"No ffo, dan wylltio, o'r neilltu—i'r grug,
Nac i'r graig i lechu—
Wŷr tonog—os rhaid hynny,
Hwy'm cân' wrth y tân yn tŷ."

He was afterwards offered the most galling employment of tax-gatherer under the Protectorate. On presenting the assessment at each house, he was wont to say:

"Am frad i'r holl-wlad, wŷr hyllion—â'u trwst,
Codi treth anghyfion,
Hwy gânt dâl a gofalon,
A chas hir o achos hon."

Then upon producing his warrant, he added:

"Dyma warant sant dan sêl,—attolwg,
Telwch yn ddiochel,
Rhag i'r sant a chwant ni chêl
Ymgethri a mynd yn Gythrel."

Phylip Sion Phylip, his fellow bard and kinsman, composed a *marwnad* to him, in which he mentions his famous poem on the death of Charles I., as follows:

"Ei gwyn am Siarls genym sydd
Yn brintiedig, braint dedwydd;
Teilwng oedd lân ben talaith,
Yn brint roi 'i holl iawn-bur iaith."

His extreme old age is mentioned by the same bard. It will be remembered that he was seventy-two when he met Rowland Vaughan in his wanderings:

"Triniodd y byd tra anwir,
Trwy iawn hap i oedran hir;
Mewn glân fuchedd rinweddawl
Hyd ei fedd, wr hynod fawl."

He left behind him a few poems and carols written in the free metres, and two *marwnadau* composed to the same nobleman, Gruffudd Fychan, of Caer Gai, which appeared in the pages

[1] *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 146.

of *Y Brython*. A few of his *englynion* are also published in the *Greal*. William Phylip died in 1669, and was buried at Llanddwywe, where the following inscription is found on his tombstone: "W. Ph. 1669, F. E. X. I."

As an example of William Phylip's skill in writing *cywyddau*, the following lines may be quoted from his second *Marwnad* to Gruffudd Fychan. It takes the favourite form of a dialogue between the bard and the dead nobleman. The conception is that he sees him in a dream and holds converse with him:

"A thrwy hun ddirgel helynt,
Gwelwn wr a garwn gynt.
. . . . . .
O ba wlad attaliad tost?
Am hawl byw ym mha le buost?
. . . . . .
Ai i wel'd byd i wlad bawl!
Ar glau bwyll a'r *glôb* hollawl?
Aros *Gruffudd*, llywydd llu,
Aros in ymresymu.
. . . . . .
Och aeth yn brudd, yn iach it,
Y dynion glân adwaenit;
Byw o'th iaith di byth a'th dal,
Y dyn od dianwadal.
. . . . . .
Nadd gyfanedd gu fwyniaith,
Ai tewi'r wyt a'r tair iaith?
Lle bu'r iaith mewn iawn-llwybr wedd,
Odid air wedi d'orwedd;
Na gwas dewr, nag ystori,
Hynaws deg os hunaist di;
Na hely hydd yn ol hyn,
O goed îr nac aderyn;
Na gwiw haelder, na gildio,
Os y dyn glan sy dan glo.
Nac iawn bwyll, nac awen ber,
Cyfundeb pob cu fwynder.
Y maes hir mewn mesurau,
Mwyn don lle buom ein dau;
Ni rodiaf, mae'n oer wedi,
Yn d'ol fyth nad wylaf fi."

And into the mouth of his dead patron he places the following words:

"Pan rano Duw ben'r einioes,
Meichiau na dyddiau nid oes.
. . . . . .

Pwy ni roe fyd pen awr fach
Os cai deyrnas gadarnach.
Ni wyr pen na pherchen ffydd,
Llawned ydyw'n llawenydd.
Byd didrist bywyd didranc,
Heb na thro buan na thranc.
Hwyr anial a hir enyd,
Y rhown fo am yr hen fyd.
Ni ddof i'r byd enbydwan,
Dowch chwi lle 'rwyf fi'n y fan.
. . . . . .
Can di i Dduw, cwyn dy ddiwedd,
Cyn dy fyn'd a'r cnawd i fedd.
. . . . . .
Yn iach, byw'r wyf mewn uwch braint,
Uwch gweryd, yn iach geraint,
Nes y del heb naws dolur,
Feirwon a byw i'r farn bur." [1]

William Phylip also composed a *Marwnad* to Huw Llwyd, of Cynfal, in which the opening stanza reads:

"Och gau ar gampau! och gwympo—Huw Llwyd
A llawer sy'n cwyno;
Yn Maentwrog mae'n tario
Awen fêl mewn grafel gró."

One of his finest poems is his "Cywydd y Bedd," which was printed by *Senex* in the pages of *Y Brython*.[2] It is a masterpiece of *cynghanedd*, and contains some very pensive reflections on a subject which so frequently formed a theme for the bards, and ends on a note of unswerving faith in the resurrection:

"Wrth ystyried yr ystori,
Y byd oll a'm bywyd i;
A'r lle 'rwy, deall oer ym
Oerllyd waith, o'r lle daethym,
A'r lle'r af i'r llawr afiach,
Wedi'r byd, enyd awr bach,
Wrth ddeall araith ddiwad,
Einioes dyn sy wan ei stâd;
Nid fi fy hun yn unig,
Yn y byd hwn enbyd dig;
Pan fo'r corff poenfawr i caid,
Yn ymwahanu a'm henaid;
Er dy gyfion ddaioni
Er dy fawl pura Dduw fi;
Fel ynol fywiol fywyd,
Yr elwyf fi i'r ail fyd.
. . . . . .

[1] *Y Brython*, 1861, pp. 285-6. The first Cywydd Marwnad to Gruffudd Fychan will be found in the same volume, p. 147. [2] ibid, p. 185.

Nid yw einioes hyd unawr,
I'r un ond mynydun awr ;
Nid wrth bryd naturiaeth bron,
Yr estynir oes dynion ;
Dwst yw'r corff di ystyr caid
Da rinwedd Duw i'r enaid ;
Fy enaid eifl i fynu,
Y cnawd y pryfed a'i cnu ;
Ni wyr pwyll synwyr y pen,
Angau ola i dynghedfen.
. . . . . .
Dydd Brawd fe ddaw i gwawrddydd,
O'r byd tranc i'r bywyd rhydd
Amlach wrthyt yr ymlyn,
Na chan tant, ochenaid dyn,
Amlach braw na dyn llawen
Amlach gwedd afiach na gwên ;
Dan dy farn y rhaid y'n fod,
Dan gwsg a Duw yn gysgod,
Oni 'n codo Ion cadarn,
O'r ddaear fyddar i'r farn :
Ni bydd y corff i'r bedd cu,
Yn hûn ddim hwy na hynny.
. . . . . .
Gobaith hoff iawnwaith a ffydd,
A chariad yw'r tair chwiorydd ;
A Christ o'i fodd fu'n dioddef,
Digon yw fe a'm dwg i'w nef,
Pan ddel pen fy llawenfyd,
Fy nghorff a'm henaid ynghyd ;
Hoff iawn fyw a chorff newydd
Ysbrydol ailfydol a fydd."

Five poems of William Phylip's are to be found in the *Blodeugerdd.*

Sion Phylip (1543-1620) was the *bardd teulu* of Nannau and Cors-y-gedol, and defended his bardic rights in these ancient seats of Welsh noble families against all comers. He was very jealous of interlopers, even of his own brother, whose trespass on his preserves he refers to as "anllad ifanc lled ofer." The *cywydd* in which he reproves Richard Phylip for daring to *clera* at Nannau, contains some of his best known lines :

"Nis cae fyth yn i wisg fo,
Gywyr ordor yn gyfyrdro ;
Ni chae hefyd o chofir,
Ond yn *glown* dyna goel wir ;
. . . . . .

Ni bu nid oes am oes mawl,
Ac ni bydd yn wybyddawl.
. . . . . .
Nid â f'awen o'i henyth,
Naga'n bell i ganu byth.
. . . . . .
Ymdaro lle gweuo gân,
A mi henfardd o'm hunfan,
Ifanc ifanc a ofyn,
Henaint at henaint y tyn;
Gyra fo o'i gaer a'i fainc,
Grafil! at y gwyr ifainc."[1]

In this poem he mentions that the lady of Nannau was the daughter of the Lord Rhys of Cors-y-gedol, and his own long connection with that family is also stated:

"Bardd i'w thad breuddoeth a wn,
Bord rydd a'i brodyr oeddwn."

Sion Phylip was a *disgybl pencerdd* of Caerwys at the early age of twenty-five. The *englyn* which he composed at that Eisteddfod is on record. Its subject was *Yr Eos*, and the bard sang as follows:

"Eiliad mawl ganiad mil gwenyn,—unllef
Ag arianllais telyn,
Eirian gloch ar enau glyn
Is coedallt, Eos Cedwyn."

When quite young he had a bardic contest with Sion Tudur. It would seem that Sion Phylip had been invited to spend a holiday with the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sion Tudur, who regarded himself as a kind of *bardd teulu* to the Welsh bishops, resented the intrusion, and after the manner of the older bards he despatched a *llatai* (messenger) in the form of a magpie with a message to him, directing him to return with all speed to Ardudwy. Concluding that the message was the outcome of jealousy, it was accepted at once as a *casus belli*, and led to a contest in verse between the two bards. Sion Tudur described his opponent as losing his way in a snow-drift in the mountains on his return journey from St. Asaph, the implication being that the episcopal hospitality had proved too much for him, and—

"Gwedi y Sul fe gaed Sion
Yn rhwyfaw yn rhyw afon."

[1] *Y Brython*, iv., p. 390.

But Sion Phylip would not be hurried by these wiles from the festive board of his kindly patron :

" Fy arglwydd rhoes im groeso,
I'r wledd fawr ailwyodd fo ;
Tariwyf tra mynwyf tremwaith,
Delwyf—pan ddelwyf eilwaith."

And he charges his brother bard with being a dog in the manger :

" Nis bwyti us petai wall
Ci dewr—nis gedy arall."

One of Sion Phylip's early efforts was *Cywydd yr Wylan*, which he composed in 1565. He describes the bird thus :

" Merch fedydd ddedwydd ydwyd
Is lawn i *Neptunus* lwyd.
. . . . . .
A fu 'rioed ar fôr iach,
Nofyddes wen ufuddach."

He sends the seagull to explain to his lover why he had failed to keep an appointment with her, for he had been overtaken by a tempest which prevented him crossing the river at Barmouth :

" Nofia nag anghofia 'nghwyn,
I gyfeirio y gu forwyn ;
Hed i'r lan hydr oleuni
A dywed lle y'm dalied i,
Wrth aber nid tyner tôn
Bermo adwyth byrm oerdon."

Sion Phylip was very popular with the bards of his day, as the numerous *marwnadau* composed to him testify, for no less than five bards paid him this tribute, *viz.*, Edmund Prys, Richard Cynwal, Gruffydd Phylip (his own son), Ieuan Llwyd, and Gruffydd Hafren. The date of his death is often given as 1600, but this is incorrect. Edmund Prys in his *Cywydd Marwnad* definitely states that he died in 1620. That he was a bard of some excellence is very apparent from the praise bestowed upon him by Edmund Prys, who was, as a rule, more lavish in criticism than encomium. He states that Sion Phylip's bardic teachers were Gruffydd Hiraethog and William Lleyn, and that he did both these bards credit. Prys' lines on this subject are as follows :

" Y dull hwn, nid twyll anhardd,
Doetha'n fyw i daeth yn fardd ;

Drwy awenydd hydr anach,
A thrwy nerth athrawon iach :
Gruffydd, gref ffydd, orthgraph wych,
Gwrddrym *Hiraethog* eurddrych ;
Mawl a eiliai mal *Wiliam*
Lleyn gynt, heb bennill yn gam ;
Y rhai'n oedd yr henyddion,
O dasg serch yn dysgu *Sion*."[1]

Edmund Prys also states that Sion Phylip once acted as arbiter between him and two others, William Cynwal and Hugh Machno :

"Bu farnwr rhof, hygof hawl,
A dau eraill awdurawl."

It is also from the Archdeacon's poem that we have confirmatory evidence of Sion Phylip's connection as *bardd teulu* with Cors-y-gedol :

"Cwrsiwr mydr, croyw asiwr mawl,
Cyrsio gwawd *Corsygedawl ;*
Caer ysgwar, *Cors* a gerym,
Cedol, waredol wiw rym ;
Ac yno di gyffro dig,
Y bu'n dal bob Nadolig ;
Llenwai'r llys, llawenhai'r lle,
Llawn oedd awen *Llanddwywe*."

From the same source is derived the information that our bard was skilled in three languages, an excellent herbalist and geologist, and possessed of a most retentive memory :

"Deallai fo diwall fawl,
Deiriaith yn brif awdurawl ;
Adwaenai ddawn da 'n ei ddydd,
Les am oes, lysiau meusydd ;
Yr un wedd am rinweddau
Y *maen gwyrth*, heb ddim yn gau.
. . . . . .
A cho Sion i'w awchus waith,
Ail i Seirws lwys araith.
. . . . . .
Ni 'dwaenem gem ddi gymmell,
Awdur gwawd *Gofiadur* gwell."

Richard Cynwal also refers to his proficiency in three languages and his knowledge of herbs and rocks :

"Llysiau a main er lles mawr."

[1] *Y Brython*, iv., p. 142 :

"Dau wythgant, bwriad iaithgoeth
A dau ddeg, oed Mab Duw ddoeth."

He also mentions his long friendship of thirty-five years with him :

" Deuddeg mlynedd, fuchedd fawr,
Ar hugain, a thair rhagawr ;
Buddiais ar gydnabyddiaeth,
Rhof ag ef, mewn rhyfig aeth."

This bard also tells us that Sion Phylip was a good Latinist, that being probably the *third* language which he is said to have known. He refers to Pwllheli as the place of his death, 1620 as the year, and Llandanwg as his place of burial :

" Ym Mhwll Heli ymhell wylwn,
Heb ddydd hwy bu ddiwedd hwn ;
Aed a'i gorph caredig iawn,
Wedi i farw i wlad Feiriawn ;
Oed Iesu, lle 'i dewiswyd,
Dwyn glain i Landanwg lwyd,
Ugain doethgain dau wythgant,
Draw gwae blaid ei wraig a'i blant."

In Gruffydd Phylip's elegy to his father he confesses himself a prodigal son, who had paid no heed to his father's remonstrances :

" I ddammeg oedd dda imi,
Astrus ym na ystyriais hi.
. . . . . .
Fy ienctyd o'm mebyd maith,
A fwriais mewn oferwaith ;
A'm hamser hoff hyder ffol,
Drwy rwysg oedd dorri'r ysgol ;
Gwario Nâ, mewn gwirion wedd,
Gwario f'oes mewn gwir faswedd."

His tenderness for his father and the depth of his penitence and contrition are well expressed in the same elegy :

" Os adref dôf mewn côf caeth,
Troi 'nôl at yr un alaeth,
A gweled wrth i gilydd,
I Lyfrau, gwae finau fydd ;
Ni âd hiraeth naturiol,
Ym drin i waith, mwydro'n ôl ;
Os darllain y rhai'n ar hŷd,
Wylo wnaf o lawn ofyd."

Gruffydd Phylip follows up this *cywydd* with an *englyn* to the sailors who rowed his father's body across the bay from Pwllheli to Llandanwg :

" O fwynion ddynion, bob yn ddau—cyfarwydd
Cyfeiriwch y rhwyfau,
Tynnwch ar draws y tonnau,
A'r bardd trist yn i gist gau."

Gruffydd Phylip also wrote *Dirifau'r Coler Du*, found in pages 374-5 of the *Blodeugerdd*.

In Ieuan Llwyd's *marwnad* to Sion Phylip more details of the bard's life are described. He states his exact age, seventy-seven, that his widow with a family of six children survived him, and that he was the bardic instructor of his brother, Richard,[1] and of Gruffydd Phylip :

" Dysgodd brydyddion dwysgerdd,
Dysgyblion y gysson gerdd ;
Brawd a mab i brydu mawl
I iawn addysg awenyddawl."

From this elegy it would seem that Sion Phylip had gone on a bardic journey through Anglesey and Lleyn ; and that he met his death by drowning :

" Myned i ddeutu *Menai*
A chlod dêg uchelwaed Dai ;
. . . . . .
A'i groeso mawr gwrs ym *Mon*,
A'i glod helaeth, gwlad haelion ;
Dyfod trwy *Leyn*, gresyn gri
O ball hwyl i Bwllheli ;
Ag ar ol Sion, mowrson mau,
Daith yngwrth i doeth angau.
. . . . . .
Dau wythgant Iôr pob coron,
Dau ddeg siwr Duw a ddŷg Sion,
Ymadael uchel achwyn
E ddaeth pedwar mab i'w ddwyn,
A chynnull mwy na channyn
O wyr uchod Llewod Lleyn,
Dygwyd hwn deg waed henwr,
O Leyn deg i lan y dŵr,
Dros y dŵr, ar draws y don,
Doe'r morwyr i Dir Meirion."

Gruffydd Hafren's *marwnad* confines itself to the praise of

[1] Richard Phylip acknowledges this in the following couplet :
Fy mrawd yn fy mwrw ydoedd,
Fathro dig yn f' athrod oedd.

his learning and his talents as a bard, and admits that he had vanquished him in controversy :

" A Sion yr ymrysonwn,
Ar Gerdd, ym difrïo gwn ;
Fy mai oedd fwy mwy addef,
Yn fwy o wyth, na'i fai ef ;
Ymhell ar fy machellion,
I'm cwympodd, a safodd *Sion*."

But, perhaps, the well known lines of Edmund Prys best sum up his capacity as a bard :

" Yn ifangc gwnai gerdd nwyfus,
Yn naddu'r iaith yn ddi rûs ;
Yn hên dda awen ddiell,
Canai i Dduw, cân oedd well ;
Canai i wyr Arfon wrawl,
Canai i feirch, ac i'r cŵn fawl ;
Awdurol fardd, wawd eirian,
Awdur mawl i'r adar mân."

And the testimony of Richard Cynwal in respect of his poems to love and nature has been given with such felicity that the lines are most worthy of quotation :

" Yn oedran cwynfan ceinferch ;
Prydai fawl parod i ferch ;
I'w gwedd, a'i gwallt, gwddw gwyn,
E ganodd fel mêl gwenyn ;
A meusydd adar miwsig,
O ddôl a bryn, ddail a brig ;
A meirch, a gweilch mawrwych gwâr,
A gwiw filgwn gafaelgar ;
Moli gwyr mawr a gwarant,
Eiliwr cerdd i lawer cant."

The following *englyn* was composed by Hugh Llwyd, of Cynfal, to his memory :

" Dyma fedd gwrda oedd gu—Sion Phylip,
Sein a philer Cymru ;
Cwynwn fyn'd athro canu,
I garchar y ddaear ddu."

His son, **Gruffydd Phylip,** as will be seen from quotations already made, was a bard of no mean order. He wrote some excellent lines, which form an interesting summary of the work of Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd :

" Mam, a Thad, Mammaeth ydych,
I'r Gymraeg wir Gymro gwych ;
Perffeithiaist nithiaist yn well,
Y Beibl oll i'r bobl well-well ;

Yn oes dyn trefnaist yna,
Y llyfrau gweddiau'n dda ;
Ni phrisiaist enw hoff rasawl,
Na phoen na chost ffeinwych hawl,
Brau y costiaist Sion ffynnon ffydd,
Braint da i ni brint o newydd ;
Hyn oedd ynn yn ddaioni,
I reidiau 'n eneidiau ni."[1]

Perhaps one of the best known poems of Gruffydd Philip was that composed in 1618, and entitled: "Cywydd Marwnad Mr. Rhisiart Hughes, o Gefn Llanfair":

"Oes cur, am nas ceir yma
Ystyn dydd ar oes dyn da !
Angau rhed o ing oer hawl,
Yn nhop gwr anhepgorawl ;
. . . . . .
Gwas gwych oedd o rwysg uchod,
Nid oedd falch un dydd o'i fod
Trwy Lundain at hir lendyd,
Tref lle 'i bydd tyrfa llu byd.
. . . . . .
Pasio pawb, hapusa' pen,
I bu ei rowiog ber awen.
. . . . . .
Dau wythgant gwarant gwirier,
A dau naw oed Mab Duw Ner."

His uncle, **Richard Phylip,** who had tried to ingratiate himself at Nannau in Sion Phylip's absence, which led to a war of words between the brothers, wrote a *Cywydd Ateb* in reply to the severe castigation he had received at Sion Phylip's hands. The lines appear in *Y Brython*, iv., pages 391-2, and show that Richard in common with his two brothers, and his nephew Gruffydd, had considerable skill in "building up the rhyme." He refers to his brother's jealousy as a very early sin, and reminds him of its results in the case of Cain and Abel:

"Y genfigen gwan fagiad,
Oedd o hen Adda a'i had ;
A yrrodd Gain oerddig waith,
I ladd Abel dda ei obaith :
Felly gwnae'r ddig gynfigen,
Ferch y Sarph arw frochus hen ;
Gyru brodyr gair bradawl,
I ymgashau ddirmygus hawl ;
Ow ! mor dynn yw fy mrawd innau,
Am i wr hael fy mawrhau."

[1] *Y Brython*, iv., p. 158.

He explains his conduct on the ground of his friendship with Huw Nannau from boyhood, and adopts a somewhat defiant attitude towards his elder brother :

"Tariwyf a gwaewyf y gân,
Tra fynwyf traethaf anian :
Gogyfar seigiau gwiwfael,
A gair a Huw ysgwier hael.
. . . . . .
Sion a droes yn ei dresi,
Phylip fardd ffel beia fi ;
Am aros yn fy mawredd,
Nannau lys o lawn iawn wledd.
. . . . . .
Er da gwâr y deau i gyd,
O Nannau nid awn ennyd.
. . . . . .
Esgus na fedrwn wisgo
Wisg Huw fyth am nas cae fo."

He argues that in Nannau there is a sufficiency for both, but insinuates that Sion Phylip could do more than his share with the flowing bowl :

"Pa raid arbed lawned wledd,
Bir Nannau ebron winedd ?
Un wyf fi a yn fuan,
Ond da'r yf yntau ei ran,
Bwngler tabler disberod,
Ydwyf fi ni wadai fod :
Tynu yn wir at hon a wna,
Mae'r tyn fal y mrawd hyna.
. . . . . .
Fe fynnai Sion fy anos i
O lannerch yr haelioni ;
. . . . . .
Er ei ddrygair ddarogan,
A'i athrod goedd uthraid gân,
Af i Nannau fan enwawg,
Ni wna'r hynt o Nannau rhawg."

Hugh Machno was a bard who wrote of the Cynfal family, the antecedents of Morgan Llwyd. In 1623 he penned an elegy to Dafydd Llwyd o Gynfal, the grandfather of Morgan Llwyd, in which he thus expresses the grief of Maentwrog and the neighbourhood :

"Troes Duw alar trist wylen
Troe gur i Faentwrog wen
Mae yno gyffro a gant
Am yr henwyr mai ar hunant."

He goes on to relate that Hugh Llwyd, the third son of Dafydd Llwyd, and afterwards a bard of some note, succeeded his father at Cynfal, in 1623 :

" Y trydydd o freisgwydd frig
Yw Huw Llwyd ddi-balledig
Yn aer i dad yw ado
Yn ol fydd yn i le fo.
. . . . . .
Dau wythgant oerant irwydd
Dau wyth a saith adwy sydd."

Like other gentlemen of the period, Dafydd Llwyd had been devoted to horsemanship, shooting, and hunting :

" Caru i farch cu eirian
Seuthyddiaeth helwriaeth lan."

And he had often acted as arbitrator and reconciler of his neighbours' differences :

" Dyddïai fo gordiai y gwyr gynt
Dyddïwr oedd enaid uddynt."

Dafydd Llwyd is further described as a man of few words and much deliberation ; and to have had considerable knowledge of poetry and figures :

" Distaw iawn wr uniawn wraidd
Ag araf fu a gwraidd
. . . . . .
Ymhob pur wawd ymhob rhif
Da i awgrym a digrif
Adroddai medrai air mwys
Yn i gymal yn gymwys." [1]

Huw Machno also wrote, about 1630, " *Cywydd i ofyn telyn dros Huw Llwyd, Cynfal,*" in which he refers to the latter's travels. Huw Llwyd had taken part in the Dutch wars to help Holland to free itself from the trammels of Spain. In the same poem the bard refers to the renovation of Cynfal, undertaken by Huw Llwyd on his return. He gives in it a homely description of the house, which afterwards acquired greater fame from its association with Morgan Llwyd, the most eminent Welsh puritan of this century. He mentions in his portrait of this old Welsh home all those appliances which a gentleman of the period would require for hunting, shooting, and fishing. The poem is given in

[1] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, pp. 305-308.

full in Mr. J. H. Davies' *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, and is of much interest because it furnishes the background for the life of that worthy. The following lines describe Huw Llwyd and the part he took in restoring his ancestral home :

" Huw Llwyd yw pob rhai lle i del,
A genfydd aer o Gynfel.
Trafaelio trwy ofalon
i bu'n i ddydd, dedwydd dön,
o gwelodd teg fu'r bregeth,
yn i ifiengtyd or byd beth?
da oedd yn y diweddiad,
dirion le, dario'n y wlad
Trwsio, ffwrneisio a wnai
oi ddyfais, i dy yn ddifai
ai ranu yn gowreinach,
a throi'r dwr drwy barlwr bach.
Os dyfod i'w ystafell,
(hon sy waith hardd yn saith well)
i lyfrau ar silffau sydd,
deg olwg, gida'i gilydd,
i flychau'n eliau'n lan,
ai gêr feddyg o arian,
ai fwcled glan ar wanas,
ai gledd pur o'r gloew-ddur glas,
ai fwa yw, ni fu i well,
ai gu saethau, ai gawell,
ai wnn hwylus yn hylaw,
ai fflasg, hawdd i caiff i'w law,
ai ffon enwair ffein iown-wych,
ai ffein gorn, ai helffyn gwych,
ai rwydau, pan f'ai'r adeg,
sy gae tyn i bysgod teg,
ai ddrych oedd wych o ddichell,
a wyl beth oi law o bell,
ar ' chess ' ai gwyr ddifyr ddysg,
a rhwydd loyw dabler hyddysg,
Beth yw'r holl bethau hyn
mae dialedd am delyn.
Pa bleser rhag trymder trwch?
i ddyn, pa fwy diddanwch.[1]

Edward Morus (?—1689), of Perthi Llwydion, in the parish of Cerrig-y-drudion, Denbighshire, was a contemporary and close friend of the great bard Huw Morus, and there has been considerable confusion between the writings of the one and the other, which is pardonable to some extent, owing to the similarity

[1] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, pp. xviii., xix.

in their themes and style of expression. There are eleven of Edward Morus' compositions in *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol*, published in 1720, and ten in the *Blodeu-Gerdd Cymru*, published in 1779. Sir Owen Edwards also published a selection of his poems in *Cyfres y Fil.* Part of this bard's work has been collected by his admirer, Hugh Hughes, of Cerrig-y-drudion. He died before he completed his task, but what he had collected was published by Isaac Foulkes, Liverpool, in 1902. It was part of a work adjudged by the Rev. J. Fisher, B.D., as worthy of the prize offered for the best history of three noted men in the parish of Cerrig-y-drudion, by the annual Eisteddfod held at that place in 1900.

Edward Morus could write excellent prose, as well as verse. In *Rowland's Cambrian Bibliography*, under the year 1689, appears the following book:

"*Y Rhybuddiwr Gristnogawl*, &c., Rhydychen. Cyfieithwyd y llyfr hwn gan Edward Morus, o'r Perthi Llwydion, Ceryg y Drudion, yn sir Ddinbych, ar gais Mrs. Margaret Fychan, o Lwydiarth; ac argraffwyd ef ar draul y foneddiges hòno." The work is a translation of Rowlet's *Christian Monitor.*

Edward Morus' introduction to the work affords a good example of his pregnant style in prose. It reads:

Att y Cymro uniaith.[1]

Y Bryttwn natturiol!

Wele fi'n dyfod yn daer ymbiliwr attat am gael un rhodd gennit; y peth yr wyf yn ei erfyn arnat sydd gymwynas, nid i mi, eithr i ti dy hun; sef, Bod yn wiw gennit yn ystyriol, ac yn ddifrifol ddarllain y Llyfr bychan hwn unwaith drwyddo. Er nas gwnei ar fy nymuniad i, fe debygid (os oes dim gweddeidd-dra yniot) mai bychan i tï wneuthur hynny o ran parch a diolchgarwch i'r elusengar Fenyw a'th anrhegodd di âg e; gan gyrchu Sais o Loegr i'th gynghori yn iaith dy fam; Ac oni ddichon hyn oll dy annog, etto darllain ef er mwyn dy enaid gwerthfawr dy hun, ac os gweithia yr athrawiaeth gynwysedig ynddo ar dy galon di, megis

[1] *Barddoniaeth Edward Morris*, p. viii.

ag y gwnaeth ar arall, 'r wy'n coelio y bydd di-edifar gennit os cyfarfyddi hefyd ymma â'r cwbl sydd angenrhaid i ti er Iechydwriaeth, wedi ei grynhoi yn fyrrach ac yn rhattach nag y gwelaist o'r blaen, dyro i Dduw y gogoniant, a gad i ni yn ddioed ac yn ddianwadal ymroi yn unfryd (drwy gynnorthwy grâs Duw) i arwain *Buchedd Sanctaidd* er anrhraethol ac annherfynol gyssur i ni. Bydd iach. Y Cymreigydd.

Mrs. Margaret Vaughan, who defrayed the expenses of printing the *Rhybuddiwr*, was the sister of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, himself a noted patron of literature. She had married John Vaughan, of Llwydiarth, in Llansilin.

There is very little known of the life-story of Edward Morus. It is known that he was a drover and cattle-dealer, and had extensive business connections in this respect with English markets. He died on one of his journeys into the Eastern Counties in 1689, and was buried at Fryerning, near Ingatstone, in Essex.

Mr. Hugh Hughes, who has been mentioned as having collected his poems, is incorrect in surmising that our bard was the Edward Morus whose name appears in the following entry in the parish register at Cerrig-y-drudion: "Gwen, the daughter of Edward Morus, of Perthi Llwydion, was baptized the 26th day of January, 1620."[1] This would fix the bard's birth at about 1600, and would show him at 89 still engaged in active business transactions, as far afield as Essex. Gwen was probably his sister, and "Edward ap Morris . . . baptized the 1st day of October, 1607,"[2] his father. Assuming that the latter married about the age of 20, Edward Morus' birth probably took place in the late twenties or early thirties of this century. This would make him about 60 at the time of his death, a much more likely age for a man to be engaged in an employment demanding such activity as that of a drover or cattle-dealer.

Huw Morus mourned the death of his fellow-bard in a *Cywydd Marwnad*, which throws some light upon his life. He

[1] *Barddoniaeth Edward Morris*, p. xiv. [2] ibid, p. x.

describes him as *mawr awdwr*, a reference, perhaps, not so much to the number of his compositions as to their excellence.

"Marw *Edward*, mawr awdwr,
Morus oedd dymherus wr;
Llafurwr lles llyfrwr llon,
Lliwdeg o'r *Perthi Llwydion*
Yn ben bardd, ni bu, ni bydd,
Afiaeth brwd, y fath brydydd;
Brwd oedd ei ffrwd, brydydd ffraeth,
Aber ddeunydd barddoniaeth."

He calls him the heir of the Muses of Helicon, and extols the purity of his diction and the sweetness of his odes:

"Per-air wr, puror araith,
Parod o rym, purder iaith.
. . . . . .
Bardd od ar y beirdd ydoedd,
Blysiais ei waith, blasus oedd.
. . . . . .
Athraw gwir, aeth i'r gweryd,
A wnai'r gerdd yn aur i gyd.[1]
. . . . . .
Hwn oedd dad cynghanedd deg,
Eos doethder ystwythdeg.
Ni ddae bwnc newydd o'i ben,
Flys hwylus, heb flas halen;
Am eiriau mêl, angel oedd,
Glain Brydain glan-ber ydoedd;
Gwastad y plethiad i'n plith,
Gardd win oedd ei gerdd wenith."

After comparing him with Homer and Horace, he pays tribute to his skill in *awdl*, *cywydd*, *englyn* and *carol*:

"Gorau gwëydd awenydd wych,
Gweuai *awdl* yn gaeadwych;
Ei *gywyddau*. gwiw addysg,
Gwir iawn ddawn, a geir yn ddysg;
Carolau 'n rheolau rhad,
Cyfoethog eu cyfieithiad;
Ei *englynion*, angel annerch,
Fyth yw swyn afiaeth a serch."

Perhaps it will be well to give an instance of Edward Morus' skill and attainments in each of the four kinds of Welsh verse mentioned by his elegist. Very few of the first named compositions have found their way into print. But Sir O. M. Edwards

[1] *Eos Ceiriog*, i., pp, 22-3.

has one *awdl* in his collection of Edward Morus' poems. It is entitled *Eglwyswr Mwyn*, and is an elegy on the death of Mr. Rees Foulk, parson of Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr. There is nothing particularly striking in this poem, but it certainly bears out Huw Morus' verdict as far as the accuracy of its metres is concerned. One stanza, the *gorchest beirdd*, is beautiful in its conception, and contains, perhaps, the best lines in the poem :

" I'r bedd heb wad,
I'r wledd aur wlad,
I'r hedd a'r had,
Orau rhodd ;
Ei ddawn oedd union,
A'i goel o'i galon,
Y nef gyfion
Iawn a gafodd."

His *proest cyfnewidiog* in the same poem is also a well-executed stanza :

" Ei fawr boen ddi-ofer beth,
A gwir les agorai lith,
Nid oes ail figail o'i fath,
A thra bo dydd, ni bydd byth." [1]

In Mr. Hugh Hughes' collection, *Awdl yr Haidd* is an amusing poem describing the different uses to which barley is put, and advancing arguments for each use. The devotee of Bacchus demands that it shall be used exclusively for *his* consumption, the housewife and hwsmon *(farm bailiff)* are equally certain that it should be used for nothing but bread. The bard dubs these extreme advocates wastrels and misers respectively. He despairs of reconciling their rival claims, and comes to the conclusion that each man must settle this problem for himself :

" Gwnaed pawb yn ddiogan ei feddwl a'i amcan,
Am haidd i hunan, mae'n hawdd iddo hynny."

It is a poem with a moral which he sums up thus :

" Fe fyn pawb ei bleser, fel bo'n blysio."

Edward Morus wrote several *cywyddau*. The first in the collection of his work recently published is " Cywydd i'r Parchedig Dad, William drwy Rad Duw Arglwydd Esgob Llanelwy." This is a thanksgiving ode from a Welshman, who hailed with delight

[1] *Cyfres y Fil*, pp. 106-7.

the appointment of one he believed to be a thoroughly Welsh prelate, Bishop William Lloyd, to the See of St. Asaph. In many of his poems he betrays his ardent love for his native tongue, and his alertness to events which made for its preservation, or otherwise. After regretting the "estroniaid ystryw anwir" who had held that bishopric, he welcomes the new bishop because his advent meant succour for the language he loved, and promotion for those who spoke it:

"Dan ras hwn dyner oes hedd,
Mi ga eilwaith ymgeledd;
Gwyr am câr llwyddgar wellhant,
Caen' swyddau canys haeddant.
. . . . . .
I dŷ Asaph dewiswyd,
Da actau'r llew, Doctor Llwyd,
Cymreigydd cu mawrygwn,
Rwysg parch yr esgob hwn."

He then proceeds to describe the dignity of the office:

"Ach neu barch ucha'n y byd,
Aaron fu o'r un fywyd;
A doniau perlau purlan,
Hynaws glod yn ei wisg lân;
Y Meitr aur mae at yr iad,
I'w roi ar yr eneiniad."

The advantage of his knowledge of the language is that his lordship will be understood, and brought into closer contact with his people in their highest act of worship:

"Pum gair yn yr eglwys lwys lân,
Sydd well os hwy ddeallan;
Na myrddiwn mewn mawr ddawn iaith,
O doe athro dieithriaith.
. . . . . .
A'm cymmun glân, cân fel cynt,
Iawn addysg yn Nuw iddynt;
Mewn Brutaniaith clodfaith clau,
Cael enill eu calonau."

Edward Morus also wrote excellent verses on the confinement of the seven bishops in the Tower:

"Saith ffyddlon, Cryfion crefydd—Cywiriaid,
Yn caru 'u Pen-llywydd;
Duw'n benach nâ dyn beunydd,
Seithwyr amddiffynwyr ffydd."

In this ode he compares James II. to Phäeton seated "in the chariot of presumption,"[1] and warns him that his fate would be similar. He begs his Majesty to change his course.

The lofty moral tone of some of his poems is very impressive. An example of this is found in his effort to entice his countrymen into the paths of sobriety. His ode against drunkenness, entitled, *Cywydd yn erbyn Meddwdod* points out the serious physical and mental effects, not to mention the moral harm wrought through the influence of excessive drinking :

" Pwy a ddengys a'i fis fai
Mwy na gwendid mewn gwindai?
. . . . . .
Ac yfed frwd gafod frau,
Dros fesur, diras foesau ;
Cyfeillach drwy afiach dro,
A fu'r esgus i frwysgo ;
Pylu'n hurt, pa wael wanhau,
Os yn hir, y synhwyrau.
Pylu'r cof trwy anghof trwm,
Bydd rusol boddi rheswm ;
Dinistrio corph a'i orphen,
Dallu pwyll deall y pen.
. . . . . .
Pob afiechyd, clefyd, clyw,
Di rin wyd, dy ran ydyw.
. . . . . .
Yn iechyd ni wrthyd neb,
Ffiol lawn o ffolineb ;
Dan dy drwyn gwenwyn i gyd,
Yfi achos afiechyd.
. . . . . .
Delw y Tad, dilëwyd hi,
Gwarth wyneb a gwrthuni.
. . . . . .
Drwg i'r corph, drwy'r cwrw y caid,
Drwg o ran drygu'r enaid."

His *cywyddau marwnad* (elegies) are also beautiful compositions. A good example is that composed to *Hywel Vaughan o Lan y Llyn*, 1669 :

. . . . . .
" Am wr enwog mae newyn,
Fwy na llu ar fin y Llyn."

[1] *Eos Ceiriog*, p. 386.

He refers to the bereaved family in the following terms :

" O ! gŵyn rydost gwn redeg,
I dagrau'n fotymau teg ;
Duw a wrendy fry o'r fron,
Weddi a gweiddi gweddwon ;
Duw achles hoff les a phlaid,
Mae'n ddyfal i ymddifaid
Bydd, arglwydd, rhag tramgwydd trwch,
Dad iddyn', er dedwyddwch.
. . . . . .
Y corph aeth, cu araf ffel,
Gwr downus i gor Daniel ;
A'r enaid aeth yr un dydd,
Ail einioes i lawenydd ;
Bendithion ban odiaethol,
A pharch iawn ciff ar eich ol ;
Hyd nefoedd cyhoedd y caid,
I roi annerch i'r enaid ;
Cyfodiad at rad Duw Tri,
Llawn einioes llawen ini."

His calling as a drover influenced some of his similes, *e.g.* :

" Ni alla i ddim o'm nerth fy hun,
Ond fel y mochyn, eilwaith
Ymdroi'n y dom ; Duw cynnal fi
O bob drygioni diffaith."

His delineation of animals gives the impression of one who thoroughly understood them. It is not strange that this poetic drover should have given such a vivid description of the bull in his *Cywydd y Tarw*. The following is an instance of his apt portraiture :

" Crych leisiwr a rhodiwr rhydd
Cryg ym min craig y mynydd ;
Pur feudwy mewn porfa-dir,
Meillion, gwellt a hydd-wellt hir."

Some of his poems are fine moral essays, for instance, that entitled *Ystyriaeth ar Fywoliaeth Dyn*. Man's frailty has been well described in the following lines :

" Mae'r deall o'r untu, a'r côf wedi llygru,
A'r cnawd yn ein dallu, a'n denu ni i'n dal ;
Mewn amryw gamweddau, anrhefnus ein rhwydau,
Ein serch a'n hanwydau'n anwadal."

And faith in Christ is its only antidote. Edward Morus' poems

are permeated with the spirit of Christianity, and his robust faith finds expression in many lines :

"Ffydd gadarn ddihoced, yw'r unig ymwared,
Yn Nghrist mae ymddiried, a chadwed iwch hedd ;
O'r *Aifft* os llongwriwch, ar fwrdd Edifeirwch,
I Ganaan mordwywch o'r diwedd."

He was an advocate of early marriages, and had a strong dislike to marriage as a purely civil contract, and bluntly condemned the union of those between whom there was great disparity of years :

"Deuddyn ifanc a briodo,
Diwall heddwch, Duw a'u llwyddo,
Ac na chlywer tiwy ymddrysu
Fyth fynd hen at hen ond hynny."

In one of his poems he reflects on the distinction the world makes between rich and poor :

"Gwr, perchen cywaeth, yn ol ei fatwolaeth,
Fe ddaw i'w gladdedigaeth, yrr hekaeth o hyd ;
Y tlawd pan derfyno, prin cael i'r fan hono
Mor digon i'w garlo fe i'r gweryd."

Cyngor bardd i'w forwyn is full of wise precepts from a master to his maid, and advocates contentment and probity of life as the keys to happiness :

"Nid wrth a gafodd o gyfoeth yn nglŷn,
Y dylai neb fesur dedwyddwch un dyn ;
Boddlonrwydd yw'r golud mewn gwiwlan ystad,
Pwy welodd heb ddigon y cyfion, a'i hâd ?"

He composed numerous Christmas carols, some of them of great beauty, and most of them a digest of the main facts in the life of Christ, in addition to a vivid representation of the central theme. It seems to have been the bard's practice to compose one for each Christmas, and most of them bear the date of their composition within their contents.

In Hugh Hughes' collection appear carols for 1656, 1660, 1661, 1663, 1665, 1671, 1685, and 1686. They deal with the subject of the Nativity with the greatest reverence. A few of them lead up to it by a summary of the promises of the Messiah's advent in the flesh, and afterwards mention the mighty works he performed in his ministrations to mankind :

"Ail Berson y Drindod, mab Dafydd trwy ddyndod,
Ac Arglwydd mewn Duwdod, tro hynod trwy hedd ;

Pregethwr daionus Efengyl gysurus,
I'r rhai edifarus, da fawredd.
Dysgu'r Athrawon, a galw ei Ddisgyblion,
Ei wyrthiau grasuslon yn fowrion a fu,
Troi Saul yn Paul ddawnus, troi'r dwfr yn win melus,
Mae'n hysbys ei ewyllys, a'i allu.
Iachau pob clefydon, rhoi parabl i'r mudion,
Bywhau y rhai meirwon, y gwirion Oen gwir,
Rhoi'r cloffion i gerdded, rhoi deillion i weled,
Byddariaid i glywed, yn glauar."

He has also other carols on secular subjects, and in this lighter vein he has the very happy gift of blending Nature and Love in perfect harmony: "Carol yn gyrru'r Haf at ei Gariad," and "Carol Cupid" are two good examples.

Edward Morus was also a facile writer of *englynion.* His readiness in composing is instanced in the *englyn* entitled *Y Bardd a'r Pladurwyr.* The bard was passing a field, where they were cutting corn, and was playfully invited to wield the sickle, but he declined owing to age and infirmity, and in lieu thereof he sang the following *englyn:*

"Canlyn Pladur ddur ar ddant—y rhosdir
Rhai ysdwyth a'i medrant;
Esmwythach i was methiant,
Englyn, a Thelyn, a Thant."

His *englynion* composed to Bishop Humphreys when the latter was raised to the See of Bangor are well known. He took great pride in the elevation ef Welshmen to the episcopate in their own country, and Bishop Humphreys certainly fulfilled the bard's expectations, expressed in the lines:

"Esgob Humphreys lles wellhad—yr Eglwys
Rywioglan gyssegriad,
Cael i Gôr Bangor heb wâd,
I Dduw wâs o'i ddewisiad.
Gwr o'n gwlad gariad geirwir—gore 'i ddawn
Gwr i Dduw sydd gowir,
Gwr o'n hiaith i'w garu'n hir,
Ag o'n ffydd a ganffyddir."

When Elis Lewis of Llwyngwern published his translation oî Drexelius' work on *Eternity,* Edward Morus was a most interested well-wisher, and he, amongst others of the most prominent bards

of the time, wrote commendatory odes to the work. The following *englynion* are amongst those he composed on this occasion :

" Pob enaid, gwiwraid, a garo—fyw'n hir
I fwynhau dedwydd-dro,
Darllened, cadwed mewn co,
Hyn o dasc hen a'i dysgo !
. . . . . .
Ti, Elis Lewis, i'r wlad—a roddaist
Arwyddion o'th gariad :
Pa un yn rhoi poen yn rhad,
Trael lawer trwy oleuad.
Cyfeithiad, troad i'r truan—Gymro
I gym'ryd dysc burlan ;
Hyfforddiad goleuad glân,
O dywyllwch du allan."

He wrote a beautiful *cywydd marwnad* to Gabriel Goodman, Esq., of Nantglyn, who died on January 10th, 1673, and who was, probably, a descendant of the famous Dean of Westminster of that name, the founder of Ruthin Grammar School. The subject of this elegy was a learned lawyer, as we gather from the lines :

" Dysgedig nid oes gwadu,
Yn y gyfraith faith a fu
. . . . . .
Solon oedd sail iawn addysg,
Sycurgus lawn dawn a dysg !
A'i gôf ydoedd yn gadarn,
I gofio heb wyro barn ;
Gwr ethol gwiw areithydd,
Sisero lyfn, ddyfn i'w ddydd.
. . . . . .
Un o'i eiriau iawn areth,
Eglura'r pwynt ar gloi'r peth."

In *Carol y Cwacer* he shows a particularly strong antipathy to that body of religionists ; the chief ground of his quarrel with them was that they refused to recognise the Lord's Supper :

" Drwy gyfarch Duw'n benna â'm genau mi gana,
Cael cennad ni cheisia, a chased wyf fi,
Gan Grynwyr cyfrwysgall na heretic arall,
Nid oes 'y mryd diwall mo'r tewi.
Os mawr i'r sect berffaith ddiystyru Llywodraeth,
Mae mwy barnedigaeth yn digwydd o'r ddau
Am wrthod drwy aflwydd, orchymyn yr Arglwydd
Heb bris yn ei arwydd na'i eiriau."

Cyfres y Fil, p. 86.

Edward Morus' poems are sweet and pure. He loved what was beautiful in life and language. In a degenerate age he maintained a high standard of moral purity, and he knew how to depict youth and love with chastity and freshness. In politics he was an ardent Royalist, and in religion one of the stoutest upholders of the Establishment, in both of which he was at one with his distinguished contemporary, the bard of Pont-y-meibion. All his religious poems are evangelical and orthodox. He delighted in the action of the seven Bishops, who resisted James II. in his attempts to re-impose the Papal yoke. The Quakers he could not tolerate because they would have kept his muse mute. Amongst his nature poems his *Miwsig Min Coed* is as pretty an ode of praise to the nightingale as any in the language. It appears in Sir O. M. Edwards' *Cyfres y Fil* collection of his poems. The two *englynion* which follow are selected from that poem :

" Iach lawen wyf, o chlywais,—ar fedw
Arfodau peraiddlais
Eden llwyd, adwen y llais.
Eos gefnllwyd ysgafnllais.
. . . . . .
Eos fwyn o'r llwyn, darllenais—y mann,
A mynych ystyriais
Leied hon, gre-lonn, groew-lais,
Mewn torr llwyn, a maint yw'r llais."

Reference has been made to the friendship which existed between Huw Morus and Edward Morus. On one occasion the latter addressed his brother bard with the following greeting :

" Huw Morus felus fyw alarch—barod,
Burwr cerdd gywreinbarch ;
Anerchion cofion cyfarch,
I'th wyneb pur, ddoeth enw parch."

To which Huw Morus replied :

" Mawr Athro'n eilio, anwylyd—miloedd,
Melin y gelfyddyd,
Melin dda'n malu'n ddiwyd,
Malu'r gerdd mal aur i gyd."

Huw Morus' *Cywydd Marwnad Edward Morus* has already been

mentioned. He gives in it the date of his death and his place of burial :

" Dau wyth gant, meddant i'n mysg,
Pan gladdwyd pen goleuddysg ;
Wyth ddeg a naw, a theg nod,
Oed Iesu wedi' osod ;
Daear Essex, dir isod,
Ydyw beddle, claddle clod."[1]

Owen Gruffudd of Llanystumdwy was one of the three bards who composed an elegy to Edward Morus. In it he well describes the power of his muse, the goodness of his life, and the integrity of his faith, as shown in the following *englynion* :

" Breuddwyd o bwriwyd i'r bedd,—wir iawnglod
Ariangloch cynghanedd,
A'i gwiw frodiad gyfrodedd,
Sidan blethiad wastad wêdd.

Planodd a naddodd iawn addas—ganiad
Yn gynil goweithas ;
Gwr da a fu, gair di fâs,
Odiaethol ei gymdeithas.

Rhoi glod ddi-ddarfod i'w ddydd,—o'i Eglwys
Wir eglur ei chrefydd,
Ac i ddoniau gwiw ddeunydd
Athrawon ffyddlon eu ffydd."

Another contemporary, Sion Dafydd Las, also added his tribute to Edward Morus' memory :

" Am golofn cerdd ddofn ei ddydd,—am fwynwr
Ac am f'anwyl brydydd,
Ni ddaw neb, gresyndeb sydd,
Fyth i ni â'r fath newydd.
. . . . . .
Galared, cwyned pob canwr—campus,
Cwympodd y dysgawdwr ;
Athro ydoedd, weithredwr,
Neuadd y gân oedd y gwr.

Pwy weithian a gân â genau—mor bêr?
Marw y bardd oedd orau !
Diweddiad pob clymiad clau,
I chwi oedd, a chywyddau."

Owen Gruffydd, of Llanystumdwy, wrote several poems which appear in the *Blodeugerdd*, of which the following are the titles : " Carol yn erbyn Cybydd-dod a Balchder," " Carol Duwiol i feddwl am y Diwedd," " Cyfarchiad Henaint," " Dangos

[1] *Eos Ceiriog*, i., 26.

ofnadwy Fygythion Duw yn amser Tymhestloedd," "Mawl i Dduw am y Cymmun Sanctaidd," "Cerdd y Pren Almon," "Difrifol Ystyriaeth o ddioddefaint ein Iachawdwr Iesu Grist," "Myfyrdod am Farwolaeth," "Ymddiddan rhwng y Prydydd a'r Gog," "Cerdd yn gosod allan ddull y Farn Ddiweddaf," "Galarnad Troseddiad y Sul," "Cwymp y Dail," "Ystyriol Freuolder Einioes," "Ystyriaeth ar y drydydd bennod o'r Pregethwr," "Annogaeth i Fodlondeb," "Carol i'r Seren Wyl, neu ddydd Ystwyll."

As will be seen, Owen Gruffydd wrote mostly on religious subjects. Many of his poems were written in the early part of the eighteenth century, for he died in 1730. In the pages of *Y Brython* is given an *englyn* recited by him against the custom of burial in coffins, and he is said to have given a strict injunction that he should be buried in a linen shroud:

"O ffei! gwaith ffiaidd o'i go'—wneyd eirch
Nid archiad Duw mono:
Mewn llian, graian, a gro,
Bu gorff Iesu'n gorphwyso."

Y Brython, iv., p. 114.

His wish, however, was not granted, for W. Elias in an *englyn* composed at his death in 1730, states:

"Rhoi'r bardd mwyn cufardd mewn cist—o dderw,
I'r ddaiaren athrist:
O'i edrych 'r wyf yn odrist,
Mae'n bruddedd, truanedd trist."

"Dwyfor," writing in the pages of *Y Brython* describes Owen Gruffydd as "hen Brydydd, o fri mawr yn ei oes, a chryn son am dano ar lafar gwlad, heb ond ychydig iawn o hanes, fel bywgraffiad am dano."[1]

The following selection from his poem *Cwymp y Dail* will serve as an example of the quality of his muse:

"Cwympo a wneiff y ddeilen lasa,
Yr un modd a'r hon sydd grina:
Y grin a'r las, pob un sy'n syrthio,
Conset yw hon i bawb i'w chofio
. . . . . .
Fe geiff dyn fawrddysg os ystyria,
Oddiwrth gwymp y ddeilen leia:

[1] *Y Brython*, iv., p. 467.

Ac am hyn yr oreu i'w chofio,
Yw *Conset y Dail* sy'n syrthio.
. . . . . .
Y dydd a roed i bawb i weithio,
Pan ddel y nos, mae'n rhaid gorphwyso ;
Y gwaith yn fawr, a byr yw'r amser,
Gwiliwn dreulio hwn yn ofer."

In one of his poems, *Ymddiddan rhwng y Prydydd a'r Gog*, he makes the curios statement that the Virgin died at the age of 63 :

"Er gwched meillion feinion ha,
Na chynnyg gwylia chwennych,
Ond a roddo Duw i'th ran,
Ar wedd dy oedran edrych :
Yr wyt yn sefyll ar naw saith
O flwyddi i'th ymdaith yma,
Ar hyn o oedran cyfan gwyn,
Bu farw'r forwyn bura ;
Oedd fam dy Brynwr barnwr byd,
Mesurwr hyd dy yrfa."

In common with many of the bards of his time, his outlook upon life was rather gloomy, and his favourite theme the uncertainty and brevity of man's days. His poems are usually in the free metres.

Sion Dafydd Las, who has been mentioned as having written a *marwnad* to Edward Morus, was a bard and harpist who flourished between 1650 and 1690. He was generally called "Bardd Nannau." Upon one occasion he met the bard of Perthi Llwydion, and they composed six *englynion*, taking alternate stanzas. When Sion Dafydd Las heard of the death of his fellow-bard in Essex, he sang six more, the last of which is as follows :

"I'r bedd, lle oeraidd yn Llan,—cul feddiant !
Aeth celfyddyd fwynlan ;
A'r hen iaith, ni a'i rhown weithian
A'r Awen fyth i'r un fan."

Gwaith Gwallter Mechain, i., p. 441.

It would seem that Sion Dafydd Las was an inveterate drunkard, and, no doubt, his joint vocation as bard and harpist often took him into the way of temptation. Lewis Owain, of Tyddyn y Garreg, a neighbour and contemporary, tried to shame him out of his weakness by composing the following *englynion :*

"Hir ofer arfer a orfydd—sadrwydd,
Cais edrych dy ddefnydd;
Sad iawn barch, a sydyn bydd
Eisiau yn dyfod, Sion Dafydd!
Mab Dafydd, awenydd wiw-nod—cyn d'orwedd
Gwna derfyn ar feddwdod—
Mab i ddiawl, anneddfawl nod,
Mab Duw oni bai diod."

Gwaith Gwallter Mechain, i., p. 442.

The culprit's conscience was touched, and he replied:

"Gwir yw'r gair, pur-air, heb ball,—a chadarn,
Ychydig ai deall;
Oferedd neu fai arall,
Buan y gwel boen a gwall.
At fy Nhad, fwriad edifeirwch—af
I ofyn ei heddwch,
Gan grynu, llechu'n y llwch,
A darostwng i dristwch."

Ibid., p. 442.

Lewis Owain praised his effort to reform and gave him every encouragement:

"Am bechod, ddu nod, a wnaist,—y prydydd,
Pur odiaeth y cenaist;
Gwna dithau, Sion, ffyddlon, ffest,
Fawl didwyll, fel y d'wedaist."

Ibid.

The reform, however, did not last long, and one morning, after a night's debauch, the reprobate bard bemoaned his aching head, as follows:

"Pen brol, pen lledffol, pen llaith,—pen dadwrdd,
Pen d'wedyd yn helaeth;
Pen croch alw, pen crych eilwaith,
Pen a swn mal pennau saith."

A bard named **Wmffrai Dafydd ab Ifan**, the sexton of Llanbrynmair, sang during the Commonwealth period, and some of his poems appear in *Llyfr Carolau Thomas Jones*, *Almanaciwr*, 1696. They are part of the carol literature of the period.

In the *Cambrian Biography*, a bard named **Watcin Clywedog** is said to have flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century. It would seem from his poems that he was a native of Arfon. He lost his three sons in one year, and the

bard wrote an elegy full of pathos on the occasion, in which the following lines occur :

" Trist yw'r galon don i'm dydd,—marw Wiliam,
Rolant, a Meredydd ;
Trist benyd rhoes Duw beunydd,
Tristwch tra bwy' fwyfwy fydd !
Ow ! feibion tirion teiriaith—ymadrodd
Chwi a'u medrech yn berffaith ;
Gyrwch air hygar o'ch iaith,
I'm sirio, rymus araith."

The Rev. P. B. Williams thinks that this bard lived at Rhiwaedog, near Bala, and that he and his sons were buried at Llanfor, and not at Llannor in Lleyn. There is, however, a *Clywedog* in Mawddwy. It is the name of a small stream which runs into the Dovey, near Mallwyd. There were two other bards from that locality, Ieuan Clywedog, and Sion Ieuan Clywedog.[1]

In reply to his pathetic appeal to his sons to send him a message, Watcin Clywedog conceives in imagination the following message :

" Siriwch, gobeithiwch bob awr—yn ufudd
Am y nefol drysawr ;
Llawenydd a fo yn Llannawr
Llawen ŷm ni yn llaw 'Nuw mawr.
Ffarwel, dad, a'n gwlad, fe glodd—Duw arnom
Deyrnas lle'n coronodd ;
Gweled yr ŷm, golud rodd,
Wyneb Brenin a'n prynodd."

It will be seen from these lines that Watcin Clywedog was a skilful bard, especially in composing *englynion.*

Thomas Llwyd o Benmaen, a Quaker bard, flourished in the reign of Charles II. It is not known to which Penmaen he belonged. There is one near Dolgelley, and another near Machynlleth. One of his fellow bards wrote to him to try to dissuade him from his Quaker views, praising his poetic skill and advising him to return to the fold of the Church. To this Thomas Llwyd replied :

" Euog a rhanog â rheiny—a fûm,
Wyf yma'n chwennychu

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, i. (See footnote, p. 463).

Adferawl edifaru
Am ffolion arferion fu.

Paul glan ar eiriau a roes,—yn fynych,
Yn fenaid ddychryn-loes ;
'A hauo dyn hyd ei einioes,
A feda ef wedi oes.'

Gochelaf, ciliaf, rhag caled—godwm
Gyda'r byd sy'n cerdded ;
Ceisiaf newyddaf nodded,
Ganlyn Crist, goleuni Cred." [1]

Matthew Owen, who is styled at the end of one of his poems in the *Blodeugerdd* "Matthew Owen, o Lan Garw Gwyn, pan oedd yn Rhydychain," [2] composed four poems which have found their way into that work. The first is entitled *Hanes y Cymry*. He traces them back to Caer-Droya (Troy), and brings in all the prominent personages, real and imaginary, who figured, in the history of Cambria from mythological times to his own day. Taliesin, Gildas, Isidore, Bishop of Sevile ; Giraldus, Sir John Prys, Humphrey Llwyd, John Stow, John Bale, Dr. Ioan Gwent (Sion Cent), Dr. Dafydd Powel, Dr. Pezron, Mr. Elis ap Elis, Mr. Theophilus Evans, Thomas Williams oes Lyfr, Dafydd Jones, Ficar, Edmund Prys, William Phylip, and Edward Llwyd, are cited as authorities for the contents of each stanza, respectively, in this strange medley of history and myth, which is certainly one of the quaintest poems in the *Blodeugerdd*.

Of his next effusion, which is entitled *Dull o ymddiddan rhwng dwy chwaer am Wra*, it is stated that *Matthew Owen o blwyf Llangar*, wrote "*dros y meibion*," and *William Prys Dafydd*, "*dros y merched*," and the poem is dated 1660. The following stanza gives an idea of the treatment of the theme :

"Merch a dorrodd *Adda* i lawr,
A merch a dwyllodd *Samson* gawr,
O achos merch oedd deg ei gwawr,
Yr aeth *Troia* fawr yn wreichion !
A merched gynt a feddwodd *Lot*,
Wrth fethu canffot dynion,
A oni adwaenoch ferch ddi fai,
Rhowch ogan llai i'r meibion."

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, i., p. 439. [2] *Blodeugerdd*, p. 389.

The third poem is entitled *Deisyfiad un am gael Physig gan ei gariad.* The bard suffers from the disease, which is as old as the world, and tells the object of his affections that the herbs for its cure grow only in her garden of love:

"Nid oes dim all safio mywyd,
Ond a wnelo chwi fy anwylyd,
O'ch hynaws gelfyddyd eich hunan,
I mae'r holl lysiau ond eu ceisio
Yn eich gerddi chwi 'n blodeuo,
Nid rhaid i chwi wario mo'ch arian."

The fourth poem is entitled "Carol Plygain Croniclaidd, yn mynegi Ganedigaeth a Dioddefaint IESU; a hanes y Cymry o'u dechreuad." It opens:

"Gwasgwn bawb ein pennau ynghŷd,
Trwy gwbl frŷd, gu frodyr;
I foli'r haeldad, rhoddiad rhwydd,
Yr hylwydd Arglwydd eglur.
Ond hwn yw'r gwyliau goreu a gaed,
Er pan wnaed eneidiau?
Y ganwyd gwir fab Duw ei hun,
Eill roi pob dŷn o'i boenau."

He then proceeds to relate the early legends concerning Britain, and fixes the coming of Brutus in 1108 B.C.:

"Un cant ar ddeg ag wyth mlwydd gu,
Cyn geni yr Iesu rasol."

Then he works through the dispensation of the prophets to the coming of Christ in the year of the world, 4,000:

"Ac oed y bŷd at bedair mil,
Y caed o'i hil, Duw'r hylwydd."

Then are recorded all the events accompanying the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the bringing of the Gospel to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea:

"A'r *Joseph* hwn a ddaeth cyn hir,
I rodio breudir *Brydain*
Gan roi'r efengyl i'w mawrhau,
Rhyd temlau caerau cywrain"—

And the conversion of Lucius or Les to Christianity in 180 A.D. is next related:

"A chynta brenin uwch y gwydd,
A drodd i'r ffydd gris'nogaidd;
Oedd pen rheolwr *Brydain* o'r dlws,
A'i henw *Liwsiws*, lwysaidd."

He mentions Elen (Helen Luyddawg) bringing the Cross to Britain Sept. 14, 320 A.D., the Devotion of King Arthur to Christianity, and his strict observance of the Christian festivals; the rising of the Sects who neglected them, and his own determination to resist their indifference in this respect, especially to the observance of Christmas:

"Ond cododd *Sectau* yr oes hon,
Gan wadu yr gwiwlon wyliau;
Pa mwya gablo nhwy ar hwn,
Yn fwy moliannwn ninnau."

He finishes this quaint mixture of sacred and profane history, fact and fancy, by commending his carol to the men of Gwynedd:

"Trigolion Gwynedd lwysaidd lu,
Er mwyn difyrru'r gwylie;
Derbyniwch hwn i'r lawen wlâd,
O ffyddlon ganiad *Matthe*.

His *englyn* to Huw and Edward Morus distinguishes between the two bards thus:

"Mae dyfais fawrgais ofergerdd—gan *Huw*
I ymhoewi mewn *gwael*gerdd;
Caniadau pynciau pencerdd,
Ned a gan enaid y gerdd."

But Matthew Owen was not an unprejudiced authority, where Huw Morus was concerned.

Lewis Owen, o Dyddyn y Garreg, who was mentioned above in connection with Sion Dafydd Las, has one composition in the *Blodeugerdd*, entitled *Sesiwn gwr ifangc am ei Gariad.* It is an appleal to his *Venus*, whom he conceives as a Justice sitting on the Bench, to hear his plea for mercy:

"Rwy yma fel carcharor, mewn cyflwr blin o'ch blaen,
Yn deisyf barn neu bardwn drwy bur opiniwn plaen,
A *Chiwpit* Arglwydd *Ffansi*, hwn ydyw *Siri* y serch,
A chwithau'n eiste'n *Ustus*, hardd fedrus foddus ferch,
Da'i medrwch seren eglur, a'ch synwyr drin eich swydd,
Cyfiawnder gwnewch yn iach chwi a'm cewch a thrugarhewch yn rhwydd."

Elis Cadwaladr was a bard of Edeirnion, between Corwen and Bala, in Merionethshire. Four of his poems are published in the *Blodeugerdd.* The first is entitled *Carol Plygain i foliannu Duw*, and is dated 1703. It follows the usual lines of carols of

the time in summarising Bible history from the Creation to the end of Christ's work in the Redemption of the world, and contains an attack on Roman *pardons :*

"Nid Pab nag aur ddelwau sydd deilwng i faddeu,
Ni chadw ein Eneidiau am ein beiau yn y byd"—

and ends with an invocation to God to preserve the Queen and to save England from Rome :

"Duw cadw'r Dwysoges, sef *Ann* ein Brenhines,
Rhag twyll a drwg fales, er mawrlles, Amen.
A nertha ni yn unig a'th law fendigedig,
Rhag dirmyg a Rhyfyg gwyr Rhufen."

The second is also a carol entitled *Carol Plygain i foliannu Duw*, and is much on the same lines.

The third is entitled *Ymddiddan rhwng Dŷn a Chydwybod, bob yn Ail Penill*, and is a reflection concerning the claims of conscience from the standpoint of Christianity. His last poem is entitled *Clod i Ferch*, in which he brings in the lady's name, Margaret Anwyl, in a kind of acrostic, and asserts that it would take the combined skill of Virgil, Horace, Orpheus, and the nine Muses, to describe her. His own description is, in part, as follows :

"Y hi ydi'r lân flodeu yn *damasg*,
Lluneiddwasg feinwasg fwyn,
Drych o *Fenws* wŷch o fonedd,
A'r decca ei gwêdd a'r dwyn ;
Nis gwn i pwy o fil neu fwy,
A'i comparia yn nyddiau nwy,
Am eiriau mêl lle'r êl lliw'r wy."

(b) ENGLISH AND LATIN POEMS

William Vaughan, son of W. Vaughan, of Golden Grove, in Carmarthenshire, and younger brother of Sir John Vaughan, first Earl of Carbery, was born in 1577, and entered Jesus College, Oxford, 1591, at the age of 14.[1] After leaving Oxford, he had a varied and interesting career and travelled on the Continent, visiting Vienna and other towns. He afterwards became the chief undertaker of the plantation in Cambriol, the southernmost

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : i., pp. 450-1.

part of Newfoundland, afterwards called by some *Britaniola*, an enterprise into which he threw himself wholeheartedly, neither sparing his pen, purse, nor person.

His works, as given in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, are as follows:

1. "ΕΡΩΤΟΠΑΙΓΝΙΟΝ Pium continens canticum canticorum Solomonis, & Psalmos aliquot selectiores, una cum quibusdam aliis poematis e Sacræ Scripturæ fontibus petitis. Lond. 1597."
2. "Elegia gratulatoria in honorem illustriss. Herois Caroli Howard Comitis Nottingham 23 Oct. 1597 meretiss. creati."

   Both the above were printed together.
3. "Varia Poemata de Sphærarum ordine &c. Lond. 1589."
4. "Poemata Continent. Encom. Roberti Comitis Essex. 1598."
5. "The Golden Grove Moralized, in 3 books. A work very necessary for all such as would know how to govern themselves, their houses, or their country." Lond. 1600, and 1608. This book, which is written in prose, was commended to the world, Wood states, "by some Poets, or at least pretenders to poetry, then (1600) living in the University, as Dr. John Williams, Margaret Professor; Will. Osbourne, one of the Proctors: Hen. Price, B.D., St. John's College; Griffith Powel, of Jesus; John Budden, LL.D., Nich. Langford and Tho. Came, M.A.'s; Gabriel Powel, B.A., Sam. Powel, Tho. Storer, John Rawlinson, M.A.'s, &c., &c."
6. "Cambrensium Carolcia. Quibus nuptiae regales celebrantur, memoria regis pacifici renovatur, & præcepta necessaria ad rempub. nostrum fæliciter administrandum intexunter: reportata a Colchide Cambriola ex australissima Novae Terrae plaga. Lond. 1625."

   This is a Latin poem dedicated by Vaughan under the name *Orpheus Junior* to Charles I.
7. "The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts, under which are discovered the errors of Religion, the vices and decays of the Kingdom, &c., Lond. 1626." This is a prose work.

The year of William Vaughan's death is not known, but he was living at Cambriol in 1628.

Sir John Stradling, the son of Francis Stradling, was born near Bristow, in Somersetshire, but descended from an ancient and knightly family living at St. Donat's, Glamorganshire. He was educated under Edward Green, Prebendary of the Cathedral at Bristol, entered Brasnose College, Oxford, in 1579, aged 16. In 1583 he took his B.A. degree, as member of Magdalen Hall, "being then accounted a miracle for his forwardness in learning and pregnancy of parts."[1] He afterwards travelled, and later joined the Inns of Court, and was much admired by the learned Camden, Sir John Harrington, the poet; Thomas Leyson, and above all by Dr. John Dafydd Rhys, the noted physician, grammarian, and critic. His first work entitled *De vita et morte contemnenda*, which is written in three books and addressed to his uncle, Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's, was printed at Frankfort, in 1597. In 1607 he published *Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor*,[2] printed in London; and two years later he succeeded his uncle at St. Donat's Castle, took up his residence there, and was made a baronet in 1611. For some years subsequently he was so involved in affairs, in which he was highly esteemed for his wisdom and learning, that he gave up writing. But towards the end of the reign of James I. he published, in 1623, a Divine Poem entitled *Beati Pacifici*. This was perused by the King and printed by authority. Upon the accession of Charles I., he published *Divine Poems in seven several Classes*, which were addressed to Charles, in 1625. At the end of this work is an Epitaph made by him on James I. In 1625 he was Knight of the shire of Glamorgan. He died in 1637.[3]

John Owen or **Audoenus** was the most noted epigrammatist of his age. He was born at Llanarmon, in Carnarvonshire, and was the third son of Thomas Owen, of Plasdu, in that

[1] *Ath*: *Oxon*: i., p. 429. [2] This was principally addressed to his friends and relatives in Glamorganshire, and contains various historical notices of interest. See *Williams' Eminent Welshmen*. [3] *Traherne's Stradling Correspondence* (1840).

parish; educated at Winchester School, and afterwards at New College, Oxford, where he became Fellow, in 1584, and B.C.L. in 1590. He adopted the scholastic profession, and taught school first at Trelech, near Monmouth, and afterwards, 1594, at Warwick, in the school founded by Henry VIII. Wood states that he was a person endowed with several gifts, and especially with the faculty of poetry, which made him famous for those books of Epigrams which he published, "Wherein an ingenious liberty of joking being by him used, was, and is now, with some, especially foreigners, not a little pleasing and delightful."[1] He was distinguished for his perfect knowledge of Latin, and his Epigrams written in that language were universally admired, and obtained for him great celebrity, but fame was his only reward for he was, unfortunately, to quote Wood again, "troubled with the disease which attends Poets—indigence."[2] Some of his indigence might have been due to his great expectations from a rich uncle, but owing to his pungent epigram against the Church of Rome, he was struck out of his will, and the book was placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*.[3] He was received into the patronage of Bishop John Williams, of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, who was his countryman and kinsman, and who for several years kept him above want. He died in 1622, and was buried at St. Paul's Cathedral, where a monument was erected to his memory by Archbishop Williams.

His writings are:

1. "Epigrammatum lib. 3. ad Mariam Nevill comitis Dorcestriae filiam dicati. Lond. 1606. oct." Printed twice in that year.
2. "Epigrammatum lib. singularis; ad doctissimam heroinam D. Arabellam Stewart."
3. "Epigram. lib. 3 ad Hen. Principem Cambriae duae; ad Carolum Ebor. unus."
4. "Epigram. ad tres Mæcenates libri tres. Ad Car. Noel Eq. &

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 400-1. [2] The Oxford historian sometimes made sweeping generalisations of this kind. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p 277.

Baronettum, unus. Ad Gul. Sedley Eq. & Bar. alter. Ad Rog. Owen Eq. aur. tertius."

5. "Monastica quædam Ethica & Politica veterum sapientium."

They were all published later in one volume, not only in England, but beyond the seas. In 1619, John Vicars, usher of Christ's Hospital, in London, a Puritanical poet, translated a select number of them from several books then extant into English verse, and printed them in London in that year. In 1659, Thomas Pecke, of the Inner Temple, translated six hundred of Owen's Epigrams into English verse. He printed them with *Martial de Spectaculis* and the most select epigrams of Sir Thomas More, under the title *Parnassi Puerperium*, in London. 1659. Thomas Harvey, at a later date, also translated most of them into English.

The first Latin impressions were greedily bought by European scholars, and carried beyond the seas. They subsequently came under the scrutiny of Roman Catholic inquisitors, who considered that they contained heretical and dangerous matter, and more especially for the two following lines, they listed Owen's work in the *Index Expurgatorius* :

"An Petrus fuerit Romae, sub judice lis est."

. . . . . .

"Simonum Romae, nemo fuisse negat."

These verses also cost him his inheritance, as stated above. His monument in St. Paul's Cathedral is erected on a pillar next to the Consistory Stairs, with his Effigies (a shoulder-piece in brass) crowned with laurel, and an inscription in six verses, the two first of which read :

"Parva tibi statua est, quia parva statura, supellex
Parva, volat parvus magna per ora liber."

Spanish translations of John Owen's Epigrams were published in 1674 and 1682, and a French version in 1709.

Epigrams in memory of John Owen were written by John Stradling and John Dunbar.

Hugh Holland, the son of Robert Holland, of Denbigh, was born in that town, and educated first at Westminster School,

under Camden, and subsequently at Trinity College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1589, and of which he became Fellow.[1] He travelled much abroad, and visited Italy, and thence made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem "to do the devotions."[2] At Rome he had given vent to his political and religious sentiments, and returning *via* Constantinople, he was called to account at that place by Sir Thomas Glover, the British Ambassador there, for disparaging Queen Elizabeth, and cast into prison.[3] He returned to Oxford and spent some years of his life at Balliol College, but was unable to obtain any preferment, perhaps, owing to his political bias. He was a good English and Latin poet, and there were some who ranked him with Spenser and Sidney.[4] Wood's estimate of him was that he was "no bad English but an excellent Latin poet." He wrote:

1. "Verses in description of the Chief Cities of Europe."
2. "Chronicle of Queen Elizabeth's Reign."
3. "Life of William Camden, Clarenceaux King of Armes," published in London eight years after his death.
4. "A Cypress Garland for the sacred forehead of the late Sovereign King James. Lond. 1625." A Poem.

Hugh Holland died at Westminster in 1633, and was buried amongst the poets in the Abbey Church. Upon his monument is inscribed "Miserimus peccator, musarum et amicitiarum cultor sanctissimus."

John Davies of Hereford (?—1618) was an Oxford man, and his record is given by Wood,[5] but he omits to mention his college. He states of him that he was "more Poet than Scholar." He set up as a writing-master in London and was there esteemed "the greatest master of his pen that England in his age beheld."[6] At his death "he was *exceeded* by *Gething* [? Gethin] his countryman and scholar."[7] Anthony Wood adds that John Davies

[1] The Hollands came, it is believed, from a place in Lancashire called Holland, which is mentioned by William Camden. Writing of *Wiggin* he says, "Haid by *Holland* sheweth itself."—*Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 201. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 498-9. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 219. See also *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 203. [4] ibid. [5] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp., 377-8. [6] ibid. [7] ibid.

"could flourish matter with his fancy as well as letters with his pen." His writings are:

1. "Mirum in Modo." A Poem. 1602 and 1616.
2. "Microcosmos." A Poem. 1603.
3. "The Holy Roode of Christ's Cross." 1609.
4. "Sonnets."
5. "The triumph of Death." 1603.
6. "Wits Pilgrimage."
7. "The Muses' Tears for the loss of their hope, the heroic and never too much praised Henry, Prince of Wales." 1613.
8. "Time's Sobs for his [Prince Henry's] untimely loss."

There is also "a large copy of his verses before Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia*.[1] He died in 1618.

Henry Vaughan, called the **Silurist,** was born at Skethrog, Brecon, April 17, 1622. He was taught for six years by one, Matthew Herbert, a noted schoolmaster of his time, rector of Llangattock, and afterwards entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1638: but soon after the Civil Wars began, he left the University, as Wood says, "to the horror of all good men, was called home, and followed the pleasant paths of Poetry and Philology."[2] He afterwards studied medicine and became eminent in that profession.

His most valued work is that entitled *Olor Iscanus*, which was published in 1650-51, in London. It consists of a collection of some select poems. Another production was *Silex Scintillans, or, the Bleeding Heart*, 1650, which consists of "Sacred Poems and Ejaculations," in two Books. With the second edition of this work, which was published in 1652, are found other poems entitled *The Mount of Olives, or, Solitary Devotions*. Many of his poems were collected and published under the title *Thalia Rediviva*, in 1678, by his friends. The poet himself had fallen into bad health and had retired to his birthplace, Skethrog, where he devoted himself wholly to piety, living in the greatest seclusion.

[1] *Athen: Oxon*: i., pp. 377-8. [2] ibid, ii., pp. 926-7. Wood gives the place of his birth as Newton St. Bridget, lying on the river *Isca*, commonly called *Uske*.

He translated from Latin into English many works, the chief of which were:

1. "Of the benefit we may get from our Enemies," a discourse originally written in Greek, but translated into Latin by Dr. John Rainolds, of Christ Church, Oxford.
2. "Of the Diseases of the Mind and Body," also a Greek work put into Latin by the same Oxford Scholar.
3. "Of the Diseases of the Mind and of the Body, and which of them is most pernicious," also translated from the Greek into Latin, by Dr. Rainolds.
4. "The Blessed State of Man," a work of Archbishop Anselm. This translation was printed with *The Mount of Olives*.
5. "Two excellent Discourses: *(a)* Of Temperance and Patience, *(b)* Of Life and Death." London, 1654.
6. "The World contemn'd."
7. "*Hermetical Physic:* or, the right way to preserve and restore health," 1655.

He also translated from Spanish into English, *The Praise and Happiness of the Country Life*, written originally by Guevara, Bishop of Carthagena. This is also printed with *Olor Iscanus*.

Vaughan also published *The Life of Paulinus, Bishop of Nola*, collected out of his own writings and other primitive authors. This work with *Two excellent Discourses* and *The World contemn'd* were published together under the title *Flores Solitudinis*. Henry Vaughan died at Skethrog in 1695, and was buried in the parish church of Llansantffraid, near Brecon.

The following lines are a worthy example of the strong faith which permeates Henry Vaughan's poems:

"Death and darkness, get you packing,
Nothing now to man is lacking;
All your triumphs now are ended,
And what Adam marr'd is mended;
Graves are beds now for the weary,
Death a nap, to wake more merry;
Youth now, full of pious duty,
Seeks in thee for perfect beauty;
The weak and aged, tired with length
Of days, from Thee look for new strength;

And infants with Thy pangs contest
As pleasant as if with the breast.
Then unto Him, who thus hath thrown
Even to contempt Thy Kingdom down,
And by His blood did us advance
Unto His own inheritance;
To Him be glory, power, praise,
From this unto the last of days."

Another poet-physician of this century was **Thomas Leyson,** who was born at Neath, in Glamorganshire, educated at Winchester School, and afterwards at New College, Oxford, in 1569, where he became Perpetual Fellow. After taking degrees in Arts, he entered upon Physic,[1] and in 1583 was Proctor of the University. He afterwards settled as a physician in the city of Bath, and became as celebrated there for his skill in that profession as he had been at Oxford for his Latin poems.

He wrote in Latin a poem describing the site and beauty of St. Donat's Castle, which afterwards came under the notice of Dr. John Dafydd Rhys, who styled it *Venestum Poema*, translated it into Welsh, and said of its author that he was *Vir cum rei medicæ, tum Poetices meritissimus.* Wood informs us that he had seen much of his poetry scattered in several books, and that Sir John Harrington, the famous Epigrammatist, had an especial respect for Leyson's learning, and so had Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle. John Stradling wrote several Epigrams to him. Thomas Leyson died at Bath about 1607. The *Athenæ Oxonienses* remarks that he had written "divers other things," and gives this on the authority "of several scholars from Wales."

[1] *Athenæ Oxon*: i., pp. 295-6.

CHAPTER IV

GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY

IN the seventeenth century there were many Welshmen who contributed in their several ways to this important branch of learning. Amongst them the leading figures were Dr. Thomas Williams and Dr. John Davies. But others, not so outstanding, also rendered valuable service.

Henry Perry (or Parry), 1561-1617, "a Welshman born,"[1] as Wood describes him, was educated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford,[2] where he took the B.A. degree in 1580, M.A. in 1583, B.D. as a member of Jesus College, in 1597. After travelling much abroad, he became chaplain to Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Beaumaris. He married the daughter of Robert Vaughan, of that town.[3] In 1601 he became rector of Rhoscolyn. in Anglesey, a living which he vacated in 1606, when he accepted the rectory of Trefdraeth, in the same county. In 1612 he was made a canon of Bangor, and in 1613 he received the living of Llanfachreth, Anglesey. His chief work is *Egluryn Phraethineb. Sebh, Dosparth ar Retoreg, un o'r saith gelbhydhyd, yn dysgu lhuniaith ymadrodh, a'i pherthynasau*, 1595. This work has been erroneously attributed to William Salesbury, who had left in manuscript a short collection of the *Figures of Syntax*. Salesbury's work, however, is of a totally different nature. Henry Perry prepared the *Egluryn* at the request of his patron, Sir John Salesbury, of Lleweni, who probably shared in the expense of its publication. There are prefixed to this work verses in Greek, Latin, English, and Welsh, in praise of the author, by David Roberts (son of Robert Morris, and brother of Lewis Anwyl, of Park, in Merionethshire), Henry Holland, William Middleton, Ludowic Lloyd, William Matthew, William Parkins, Hugh Lewis, and Henry Salesbury. Dr. Davies, in his Grammar, page 213, has this note in reference to Henry Perry's work: "De figuris syntaxces Consule Wilhelmi Salisburie, Rhetoricæm ab

[1] In Bishop Humphreys' *Additions* p. 252, he states, on the authority of Henry Perry's son-in-law, that he was born in Flintshire. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., p. 252. [3] *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 156.

Henrico Perris interpolatam et in lucem editam." Two editions have since appeared, one in 1805-7 in the *Greal*, and the other in 1829.

Dr. John Davies states in his preface to *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum* that he was indebted amongst others, whom he names, to Henry Perry, the reference to whom is as follows: "*Henricus Perrius vir Linguarum cognitione insignis*," from which it is reasonable to conclude, as Wood and Canon Williams have done, that Perry had left in manuscript or other form a Welsh Dictionary, which the learned rector of Mallwyd had found useful in the compilation of his important work. Henry Perry died in 1617, for under the date December 30th of that year Bishop Humphreys records that one "William Hill was installed to the canonry at Bangor, *then void by the death of Henry Perry*."[1]

Dr. Davies also mentions his indebtedness to **Henry Salesbury,** whom he styles "Henricus Salesburius, artium Magister Oxoniensis, medicus etiam doctis annumerandus." Henry Salesbury was a noted physician and antiquary who belonged to a branch of the ancient Salesbury family of Lleweni, and was born at Dolbelider, in Denbighshire, in 1561. He was entered as a commoner at St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, in 1581, and after taking a degree in arts, he proceeded to study medicine, and afterwards settled in practice at Denbigh. The "History of Oxford Writers" describes him as an "eminent physician and a curious critic especially in the Antiquities and Language of his country."[2] His only published work is a Welsh Grammar, entitled *Grammatica Britannica*, which was printed in London in 1593, and dedicated to Henry, Earl of Pembroke. He had also compiled a Welsh-Latin Dictionary, which was, however, never published, but which came into the hands of Dr. John Davies, who acknowledges the use he made of it. Henry Salesbury was a fellow townsman and contemporary of Hugh Holland.[3]

Hugh Lloyd, a native of Lleyn, in Carnarvonshire, was a most admired grammarian, who died in the early part of the 17th

[1] Humphreys' *Additions*, p. 252. [2] *Athen* : *Oxon* : i., pp. 226-7. [3] *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 204.

century. He had been educated at Winchester School, and afterwards became Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1564. In 1578 he was made Chancellor of Rochester, being then B.C.L.[1] He afterwards proceeded to his old school as Master, and was esteemed for his profouud knowledge of the Classics, and of Divinity and Civil Law. In 1588 he took the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford, his brother, John Lloyd, Fellow of All Souls, and Judge of the Admiralty, also taking the same distinction. He died in 1601. One of his printed works is entitled "Phrases Elegantiores ex Cæsaris Commentariis, Cicerone Aliisque, in usum Scholæ Winton." This was published at Oxford in 1654, more than half a century after his death.

Owen Price, a native of Montgomeryshire, was put in as Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford, by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648,[2] and remained there four years, when he was called to the charge of a public school in Wales, and there he taught Presbyterian principles. In 1655 he returned to Oxford and became Student of Christ Church. He took degrees in Arts, and was made Master of the Free School, near Magdalen College. His acknowledged skill in teaching drew many youths to the school. He was ejected at the Restoration, and afterwards taught school in Devonshire and other places. He was a noted professor in the art of pedagogy, and his publications deal with the teaching of orthography, in which branch of grammar he had made himself an expert. In 1665 he published "*The Vocal Organ*, a new art of teaching orthography by observing the instruments of pronunciation." This was followed in 1670 by "*English Orthography*." Owen Price died in 1671.

Nicholas Lloyd was born at Holton, in Flintshire, educated at Winchester School, admitted Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, from Hart Hall, 1653, aged nineteen, and afterwards became Fellow of his College and M.A. In 1665, when the Warden of that College was raised to the See of Oxford, Lloyd

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : i., pp. 268-9. [2] ibid, ii., p. 490; Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 417.

became his chaplain, being at that time Rector of St. Martin's, Oxford. He was subsequently preferred by the same Bishop, Dr. Blandford, in 1672, to the Rectory of Newington St. Mary, near Lambeth, in Surrey, and remained there until his death in 1680. He wrote:

> "Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum, gentium, hominum, deorum gentilium, regionum, insularum, locorum, civitatum, &c., ad sacras et profanas historias, poetarumq.; fabulas intelligendas necessaria, nomina, quo decet ordine, complectens et illustrans, &c. Oxon. 1670. folio."

This was mostly taken from the Dictionaries of *Car. Stephanus* and *Phil. Ferrarius*.[1] Lloyd, who was a profound scholar and great reader, afterwards made numerous additions to this work, with many corrections, and the second edition, published in London in 1686, after the author's death, and to which was added a *Geographical Index*, was considered a very valuable work.

Mr. Nicholas Lloyd was buried in the chancel of his church at Newington, and left behind him, Wood remarks, "the character of a harmless, quiet man, and of an excellent Philologist."[2]

Edward Stradling was the son of Sir Thomas Stradling, Knight, by Catherine his wife, and was born in the ancient home of the Stradlings, at St. Donat's Castle, in Glamorganshire, educated at Oxford, but left before taking a degree, and travelled widely on the Continent. He spent some time at Rome, and on his return settled on his patrimony and devoted himself to letters. In 1575 he was knighted, and became a magistrate of his county, where he devoted himself to many works for the public good. He was above all noted for his singular knowledge of the Welsh language and his depth of antiquarian lore. He was also one of the foremost men of his age in encouraging literature and men of letters, and noted for his indefatigable industry in collecting ancient manuscripts. The library at St. Donats added greatly to the credit and renown of that place and family. He is reputed

[1] *Athen*; *Oxon*: ii., p. 670. [2] ibid, p. 671.

to have written a Welsh Grammar,[1] written mostly in Latin, and Wood gives the following quotation concerning this work from the pen of "one of his Countrymen," whose name he does not mention: "Hae institutiones Grammaticae adeo concinnè sunt compositae, et omnibus suis numeris absolutae, ut nec eis addi quicquam, nec ab eis demi, (meo judicio), quicquam poterit; nisi secundum hujus operis author in posterum editionem maturet."

He also wrote "The Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan or Morgannwc out of the Welshmen's hands, &c.," a book which is mentioned in Powel's *History of Cambria*.

He died in 1609, aged 80 or more,"[2] and was huried in the chapel built by his father and dedicated to the Virgin, adjoining the parish church of St. Donats'. He died without male issue, so the estate passed to his next kinsman, Sir John Stradling, Kt., who in 1611 was created baronet. From the latter was descended Sir Edward Stradling, Bart., who was prominent in the Civil War as a Colonel in Charles I.'s Army, and who was buried at Jesus College Chapel in 1644.

Dr. John Dafydd Rhys (1534—? 1617) was born at Llanfaethlu, in Anglesey, where his father, Dafydd Rhys, was in the service of Sir William Gruffydd, of Garreg Lwyd. His mother had been maid to Jane Stradling (one of the St. Donat's family), who had married Sir William Gruffydd. He entered Oxford in 1552, and was elected Student of Christ Church in 1555, in his twenty-first year.[3] He afterwards travelled on the Continent, and went to the University of Sienna in Tuscany, where there was a noted medical school, and where he became a doctor in that faculty. He was afterwards Moderator of the school at Pistoria, in Tuscany. Wood informs us that he understood the Italian language "as well as any native." He afterwards returned to England and practised medicine with great success. He was also held in high esteem by the learned men of his day for his skill as a poet and grammarian. In particular, he studied his own native tongue, and was one of the most talented bards and prose writers

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 299-300. [2] ibid. [3] ibid, p. 304.

of his time. His capacity as a linguist is seen in his work entitled *Rules for the obtaining of the Latin Tongue*, which was written in Italian, and printed at Venice. This was followed by a Latin work, *De Italicæ Linguæ Pronuntiatione*, printed at Padua. The best tribute to the work was that the Italians themselves thought highly of it.

His greatest and most useful work for his own country was the publication in 1592 of a Welsh Grammar, written in Latin, and entitled *Cambro-Britannicæ Cymraecæve Linguæ Instiutiones et Rudimenta. . . . . ad intelligend. Biblia sacra nuper in Cambro-Brittannicum sermonum eleganter versa.* London, 1592.

This book, which contains the rules of Welsh prosody, was printed at the expense of Sir Edward Stradling, and is remarkable for its wealth of illustrations from the old bards. The author was an apt versifier himself, and often supplied original examples of his own to explain a rule of prosody. The preface of this book is in Welsh, and it is written in a novel orthography. The alphabet used contains 31 letters, which represent every sound in the Welsh language. Every digraph is formed by means of the letter *h*: thus *ll* is written *lh*; *dd*, *dh*. &c.; and he also uses *bh* for *f*, the mutated form of *b*. He has two separate characters to distinguish the two different sounds of *y*. There is a preface to this Grammar, written by Humphrey Prichard, of Bangor, sometime an Oxford scholar.

Thomas Williams, commonly known amongst his contemporaries as Sir Thomas ap William,[1] was a learned lexicographer and physician. He was a Carnarvonshire man, and was born at Ardde'r Myneich, at the foot of Snowdon.[2] He was educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, where he proceeded to his M.A. degree in 1573, and afterwards undertook the study of medicine, graduating in that faculty. He was an excellent pedigrean, and engaged in a very extensive work of this nature, entitled *Prif Achau holl Gymru Benbaladr.* He began it in

[1] Humphreys' *Additions*, p. 266. [2] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 537-8.

1578, added to it in 1585, and further enlarged it in 1609. It was not, however, printed.

Another work, which placed him in the front rank amongst Welsh scholars, was his *Lexicon Latino-Britannicum*, 1604-08, a most invaluable contribution to knowledge, and involving the most painstaking research. It is enriched by copious extracts from manuscript authorities, and is contained in three quarto volumes, which form part of the valuable Hengwrt Library. Dr. John Davies made considerable, but nothing like exhaustive, use of this work in Part II. of his Dictionary, that entitled *Latino-Britannicum*, which is but a bare index of Dr. Thomas Williams' great work.

Another work by this author, known as *Llyfr Prophwydoliaethau Cymraeg a Saesneg a Lladin, o law Sir Thomas Williams*, also forms part of the Hengwrt collection of manuscripts.

The title *Sir* prefixed to Thomas Williams' name has reference, perhaps, to his clerical vocation. It is thought that, besides being a medical practitioner, he was curate of Trefriw. In the Bishop of Bangor's *Visitation*, 1573, there is a record of Sir Thomas ap William of Trefriw.[1] There is also a record that Thomas Williams, of Trefriw, who was reputed to be a Papist, was proceeded against at Bangor, May 23rd. 1606, the entry being, "*Thomas Williams de Trefriw eo quod recusat venire ad Ecclesiam*," and in 1607, "*D^s Tho^s W^ms recusans excommunicatur.*"[2]

Dr. Davies makes some acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Thomas Williams in his preface to his Dictionary, 1632, in the following words: "Parturierunt multi, insignes quidem illi magnique viri . . . . . & præ omnibus *Thomas Gulielmus*, medicus apud suos clarus, qui sequens Latino-Brit. congessit."

The year of Thomas Williams' death is not known. He wrote a letter to Sir John Wynn, of Gwydyr, after October 21st, 1620.[3] The latter in his correspondence with him,

[1] Bishop Humphreys in his *Additions* to Wood's *Athenæ*, p. 266, thinks it likely that he was curate of Trefriw. [2] ibid, p. 266. [3] *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 159.

in a letter written on that date, to which Thomas Williams replied, but left his letter undated, signs himself "yr loving coyson, John Wynn." His death had occurred before Dr. Davies wrote the preface to his Dictionary, which is dated *Ultimo Maij*, 1632, for he states that all those, whose works he had consulted and used for its compilation, were dead with the sole exception of Henry Salesbury: "Apud hos cum opus in fermento tam diu jacuisset, quoad mors omnes præter unum *Hen. Sal.* mutarè nimis abduxisset."

Dr. Davies mentions the *second part* of his Dictionary as that in which he was most indebted to Thomas Williams, and states that he himself was entirely responsible for the first: "Alterum *Latino-Brit.* illud *Thomæ Guil.* Lexicon, ab ipso multorum annorum labore collectum & descriptum, & nunc meâ operâ castigatum & evulgatum; Alterum *Britannico-Lat.* meâ ipsius industriâ elaboratum."

Bishop Humphreys relates a story that Thomas Williams tried to dissuade Sir John Wynn, of Gwydyr, from attending the Parliament of James I., when the Gunpowder Plot was discovered, from which it was concluded that he had knowledge of that conspiracy, and was afterwards suspected of being a Papist.[1]

Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, was born at Llanferres, in Denbighshire, about 1570, and was the son of Dafydd ab Ioan, of Llanrhaiadr, in that county, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis David Lloyd.[2] He states that Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the noted antiquary, was his cousin. He was educated at Ruthin, in what school is not certain, but it was at the institution in which Bishop Richard Parry was one of the masters.[3] There was, probably, a secondary school at Ruthin before Gabriel Goodman founded his Grammar School in 1590. In the preface to his Dictionary, Dr. Davies states that Bishop Morgan was also one of those to whose instruction he was indebted, although he does not definitely state when and where it was imparted. His

[1] Humphreys' *Additions*, p. 266. [2] ibid, p. 509. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 105.

reference to that great scholar reads as follows: "Guilielmus Morganus SS. Th. D. Cantabrigiensis, sacræ Scripturæ in Linguam Brit. interpres fidelissmus, Ecclesiæ primum *Landauensis*, dein *Asaphensis* Præsul vigilantissimus, cujus mihi semper dulcissimum in ore versatur nomen, vt ad cujus Gamalielis pedes sum educatus."

In 1589 he entered Jesus College, Oxford,[1] as Student and took his B.A. degree in 1594, and little is known of him for the next few years, except that he was ordained in 1594, and "studied Divinity in the country."[2] It is evident that he had assisted Bishop Morgan with the translation of the Bible prior to going to Oxford. In the interval (1594-1604) he married Jane, daughter of John Wynn, of Llwyn Ynn, the sister of Bishop Parry's wife. In 1604 James I. preferred him to the living of Mallwyd. That was the year in which Bishop Parry was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, and possibly Dr. Davies was presented to Mallwyd through his influence, for about this time he had been acting as his chaplain. In 1608 he again returned to Oxford, and "was admitted to the reading of the Sentences,"[3] as a member of Lincoln College, having been fourteen years, as Wood informs us, "minister of God's Word, and dispensed with for not ruling in Arts." On his return from Oxford, in 1612, he was appointed, by the gift of Bishop Parry, to a Canonry at St. Asaph. In 1613 he became Rector of Llanymawddwy, and and in 1615 Sinecure Rector of Darowen, which he afterwards exchanged for Llanfawr or Llanfor, near Bala. In 1617 he also exchanged the canonry of St. Asaph for the prebendship of Llannefydd, in the same diocese. It will thus be seen that he was one of the most notable pluralists of his time, but not all have been so deserving. In 1616 he had proceeded to a doctorate in the faculty of Theology at Oxford.[4] Wood states that in 1626 there was "one John Davies a Doctors son admitted Bachelor of Arts, as a member of Gloucester Hall, which I take to be the son of Dr. John Davies before mentioned." Bishop

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., p. 519. [2] ibid. [3] ibid. [4] ibid.

Humphreys, however, shows that Wood's surmise was incorrect. Dr. Davies died without issue, and left his estate to his own and his wife's nephew. (See *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 158).

In 1621 Dr. Davies published his Welsh Grammar, written in Latin, and entitled: *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ*, nunc communiter dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, a suis Cymræcæ, ab alijo Wallicæ, Rudimenta: Juxta genuinam naturalemque ipsius Linguæ Proprietatum, qua fieri potuit accurata Methodo et Brevitate conscripta.

Londini, apud Johannem Billium Typographum Regium. 1621."

It is a book very rich in quotations from the old bards, and has fallen under criticism[1] because it contains none from prose literature. Gweirydd ap Rhys states that he failed to find a single prose quotation in the whole book. It is an octavo volume, and was printed in London.

The following quotation from his Grammar, taken from the early part of the book, dealing with Welsh diphthongs, will serve to illustrate the plan and method of this work:

"Præterea, diphthongorum nonnullæ apud poetas sæpe dirimuntur,

Ae, Cymraeg laes-deg o lys dyffrynt. Cyn.
A bran dda ei chymraeg
A'r lleuad aur a'r llaw deg. Ll. M. T.
Eglwys yw fal glas iaen
A drws y porth dros y pen. D. G. *i helm.*"[2]

In the same year he also published *A Catechism.*

In 1632 he published his Welsh-Latin Dictionary and Latin-Welsh Dictionary, in one book. This was the standard dictionary of the language for over a hundred and fifty years, until Dr. Pughe's Welsh-English Dictionary was published in 1803. Nevertheless, it was a very scanty work, and it seems, according to his own statement, the time the learned Doctor bestowed upon it was

[1] *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, p. 413. [2] *Antiq. Ling. Brit.* p. 39.

only what he could snatch from other works, which he considered of more importance. The title-page is as follows:

> Antiquæ | Linguæ Britannicæ, | Nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, | A suis Cymraecæ vel Camricæ, | Ab aliis Wallicæ, | et | Linguæ Latinæ, | Dictionarium Duplex. | Prius, | Britannico-Latinum, Plurimis | venerandæ antiquitatis Britannicæ | monumentis respersum. | Posterius, | Latino Britannicum. | Accesserunt Adagia Britannica & plura & | emendatiora quàm antehàc edita. | Psal. 122. 9 | [quoted in Hebrew] | Ecclus 33. 17 & 24. 34. | [quoted in Greek]. [An illustration with the motto *Cor Unum via una* inscribed.] Londini, | Impress. in ædibus R. Young, Impensis Joan. | Davies SS. Th. D. An. Dom. 1632.

The *History of Oxford Writers* informs us that the Latino-Britannicum part of this work "was in a manner finished by Thomas Williams, a Physician, before the year 1600. Afterwards completed and published by Dr. Davies. I have been informed that in the Library of MSS. sometime belonging to Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, in Merionethshire, is a Welsh Dictionary that contains about 2,000 words more than in the former."[1]

Of Dr. Davies, Wood writes: "He was esteemed by the Academicians [of Lincoln College] well versed in the History and Antiquities of his own nation and in the Greek and Hebrew languages, a most exact Critick, an indefatigable searcher into ancient scripts, and well acquainted with curious and rare authors."

The Dictionary is dedicated: "Illustrissimo Domino Carolo Principi Walliæ, &c. Serenissimi Caroli Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis Filio vnico & Hæredi," and proceeds:

"Nec opportunius quicquam, Princeps Illustrissime, huic potuit accidere Lexico, quàm quòd temporum & opportunitatum Moderatoris vnici beneficio, Te jam parvulo ad prœlium exornetur. Sic enim & Celsitudo Tua, si tenerioris ætatis curatoribus ita visum fuerit, à cunis simul cum alijs Linguis, Antiquam etiam hanc hujus Insulæ Linguam, nunc Walliæ tuæ peculiarem, vel imbibere, vel

[1] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i., p. 519.

quæ saltem qualisque sit cognoscere poterit. Nec enim Principibus indigna Linguarum cognitio: Imò Principibus solenne semper fuit earum studium: & aliquo modo etiam necessarium sibi duxerunt, populorum quibus aliquando erant imperaturi, linguas ediscere. Cujus rei nullum extat illustrius nobiliusue exemplum, quam Mithridatis Ponti & Bithyniæ regis, qui viginti duorum quibus imperabat populorum linguas probè calluit, eosque haud vnquam per Interpretes alloquutus est. Sic etiam & Operi huic à me consultum erit optimè, si jam recens natum, & ad pedes Tuos, Illustrissime Princeps, prouolutum, hilarī fronte in clientelam suscipere digneris. Nam ita futurum non dubito quin, me mox aliò (quod anni monent) hinc auocando, illud Tecum per secula senescat multa; quoad Patris Serenissimi Regna, Religionem, Pietatem, Fidei Christianæ defensionem, post annos complureis ab Ipso fæliciter agendos, hæreditariâ Tibi sumpseris successione, eademque filijs nepotibusque, bonis auibus olim aliquando tradideris. Quod cum sub alis Patrocinij Tui tamdiu incaluerit, vires acquisierit, & ad validam adoluerit ætatem, illud

> Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas;
> — nec imber edax, aut aquilo impotens
> Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
> Annorum series & fuga temporum; [1]

sed extremo tandem igni, cum terrâ & operibus quæ in eâ sunt,[2] comburendum conseruatibur. Nec est quod de Tuo, Illustrissime Princeps, patrocinio dubitem, tum quòd à tanti Principis clementiâ alienissimum sit oporteat vt Diui tutelaris munus non præstet petentibus, tum etiam maximè quòd ea semper fuerit literarum dignitas, vt dicari sibi Principes gloriosum ducerent, nec vllum, quamuis humillimum, literarum genus fastidirent. Nam & Iulius Pollux ad Commodum Cæsarem de Grammaticâ, Vitruvius ad Augustum de Architecturâ, Oppianus ad Antonium de Piscibus, Diophanes ad Deiotarum Regem de Agriculturâ scripserunt. Nec

[1] *Ovid. Metam. Lib.* 15. *Horat Carm. Lib.* 3 *od. vlt.* [2] 1 *Pet.* 3. 10.

quod vlli vnquam hominum vitio versum est, vt lucubrationes suas Principibus consecrare auderent, sperare licet vitio vertendum mihi

Celsitudini Tuæ

Deuotissimo

Joan. Davies

SS. Th. D."

This is followed by the preface under the title "Ad Lectorem Præfatio; ubi de Linguæ Britannicæ origine, aliarumque Linguarum ortu & mutatione." In this he pays grateful acknowledgment to those whose works had helped him in the compilation. Bishop William Morgan, Henry Perry, Henry Salesbury, and Thomas Williams have been already mentioned above. He also pays tribute to William Salesbury, Dr. David Powel, and Dr. John Dafydd Rhys. Of the first-named he writes: "In quorum omnium gratiam *Wilielmus Salesburius*, de Ecclesiâ linguáque Brit. vir plurimum meritus, Dictionariolum Anglo-Brit. Regi *Henrico* Octavo approbatum & dedicatum, annoque salutis humanæ 1547 impressum, edidit." His praise of Dr. David Powel is expressed in the words: "*Dauid Pouelus* SS. Th. D. historiarum Britannicarum peritissimus," and of Dr. J. D. Rhys, "*Johannes Dauid Rhesus*, Doctor medicus Senensis verè doctus." His attitude towards his task and his judgment as to its nature and scope, he sets forth as follows: "Nec tamen istæc tam leui manu, facilíque labore, & prorsus ἀνιδρωτὶ me comportasse existimes, vt lusisse potius quam scripsisse putes. Arduo enim, mihi crede, res est Lexicon composuisse, præsertim linguæ alicujus vulgaris, quod vel præsenti ætati facturum sit satis, multo minus secuturis. Tantam semper exercuit, perpetuum exercebit, in linguas tyrannidem misera & infælix Babelis pœna, vt indies magis magisque non in Syria solâ, sed & ubique terrarum confundantur,"

Then follows a page devoted to the explanation of symbols and abbreviations used in the work, and this is followed by two pages of *Encomiastica*, which are all in Latin verse, the writers being Iohan Owen, Episc. Asaphen; Iohan. Hoskins, serviens ad

legem, Iusticiar, Westwall; Edwardi Hughes, Archidiac. Bangor; Guilielmus Griffith, Legum Doctor, Cancellarius Diœcesium, Asaphensis & Bangorensis; Geo. Griffith, Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Asaphen. Canonicus; David Davies, Mannavonensis In Art, Mag.; H. Lloyd; Tho. Canon Miles.

The Welsh-Latin part of this Dictionary was printed in 1654 at Amsterdam by Boxhorn, but the Hebrew and other comparisons are omitted in that edition.

The Dictionary, as far as it goes, is a very learned work, and gives some idea of the profound learning of its author. It bears ample testimony to Wood's statement that he was steeped in the Classics and in the ancient British tongues, and also shows that he had a considerable knowledge of Hebrew and other Oriental languages. The following will serve as examples of his treatment of Welsh and Latin words respectively:

GWESTFA, *Hospitium, inuitamentum. W.S. Luc.* 20. 46. δέιπνους *reddit* Gwestfáau. Rheidus a gerddo teirtref, a naw tŷ ym mhob tref, heb gael na chardod na gwestfa, er ei ddal a'i ladrad ymborth gantho, ni chrogir. K. K. Swydd y distain yw rhannu arian y gwestfaau. K. H. Arian y gwestfáau, *Nummi regalibus cœnis reddendi. Videntur fuisse pecuniarum summæ quas subditi soluebant principi, pro eo quod ipsum & suos in transitu, sua quisque vice, in hospitium excipere tenebantur.*"

"PRÆCIPITO, ĀRE, *Bwrw ben dra mwnwgl, torrfyngylu, taflu i lawr yn ŵysg i benn, brysio tu a'r diwedd, gwneuthur peth yn ddigyngor ac heb ystyr, prysuro, cael seithug gan frŷs, cwympo ben dra mwnwgl, gogwyddo tu a'r llawr.*"

At the end of the *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum* is a very interesting collection of the Welsh names of herbs and plants, with their Latin equivalents, under the title *Botanologium.* "Dr. Thomas Williams, according to Bishop Humphreys, had left in MS. a pretty large Herbal in Latin, Welsh, and English, giving an account of herbs and their physical virtues."[1]

[1] Humphreys' *Additions*, p. 266. Perhaps this, as well as T. W.'s Dictionary, had come into Dr. Davies' hands.

There is also a dedicatory letter introducing the second part, in which he pays more hearty tribute to the work of Thomas Williams than in the first preface: "Quod Thomas Guilielmus medicus, Linguæ Britannicæ cultor sedulus, Patris tui Venerabilis, literarum & literatorum Mecænatis benigni, hortatu, consilio, auxilio, beneficentiâ, ante annos ferè trigenta perfecerat, ipsiusque nomini consecrare instituerat, Dictionarium sequens Latino-Britannicum; jam tandem, trutinam apud me seueriorem passum, meisque solius impensis excusam, & Illustrissimi Principis Caroli munitum patrocinio, posthumum tuo sese offert conspectui."

At the end of *Dictionarium Latino-Britannicum* he gives a collection of Welsh proverbs under the title *Adagia Britannica*, before which he wrote a short letter to the Reader, in Latin and Welsh. The latter is addressed "At yr hawddgar Gymro." He states it is a fuller collection of Welsh Proverbs than had ever appeared before, and marks the additions with an asterisk. He also has a distinguishing mark for those whose meaning is obscure. The nucleus for his collection, he obtained from a work which he calls *Mad-waith hên Gyrys o Iâl*, but admits his ignorance of this author and the time in which he flourished. There is no direct testimony that Thomas Williams' *Diarhebion* came into his hands, although the latter had sent it to Sir John Wynn, of Gwydyr. (See *Note* at end of chapter).

These are followed by "Y Pedair Camp ar hugain" which he divides into "deg gwrolgamp, deg mabolgamp, a phedair o'r gogampau."

The work ends with a list of the names of the British poets and writers, and the dates in which they flourished, under the title: "Authorum Britannicorum nomina & quando floruerint."

Dr. Davies' work in translating Edmund Bunney's adaptation of Robert Parsons' *Christian Directory* under the title *Llyfr y Resolusion*, has already been noticed, as also his last work issued in 1633 and entitled *Y Llyfr Plygain a'r Cathechism*.

He died in 1644,[1] and was buried in the chancel of Mallwyd Church, where there exists to his memory a mural tablet of white marble containing a long Latin inscription. This tablet has not been disturbed during the recent restoration of that venerable fabric. Bishop Humphreys informs us that Dr. Davies, was "a justice of the peace, and an useful magistrate, and universally beloved and esteemed in his county. He built three bridges at his own charge, and did other charities at Mallwyd where he lived. He left his estate in land, to be divided between a nephew of his own, and a son of Bishop Parry's, his wife's nephew." [2]

NOTE: The story of Dr. Davies' use of Dr. Thomas Williams' Dictionary is of considerable interest, and some correspondence on the subject between Sir John Wynn, of Gwydyr, and Thomas Williams, in the first place, and between the former and Dr. Davies, of Mallwyd, in the second, throws a great deal of light on the subject. Sir John Wynn had written to Thomas Williams, advising him how he might get the work printed,[3] and asking him to send him his copy of the *Diarhebion*, which Salesbury (presumably William Salesbury) had lost, and which, apparently now re-written, Sir John offered to print. Thomas Williams replied: "For the Latine and Cambrian Dictionarie, w^{ch} with great laboure and travayle, as God knoweth, I have congested and digested these fiftie years, I see very small surtie [surety] or consideration for my paynes, and therefore I mean not in hast." [4]

He added that he had never received any *quid pro quo* for any of his work, and resumed, "God doth know that in the 4 years while I did write the Dictionaries, I was so instant to the work that often when I came from the book I did not know many a time what day of the week it was, and soe lost my practis that might have been a hundred pounds unto me . . . . and during that time I might have pined for hunger yf it hath not been for God and y^{r} Worships good considerations and not to these

[1] He died about May 15th in that year. Bishop Humphreys states in his *Additions* that his prebendship was disposed of on May 28th, *vacant by his death*, p. 509. [2] *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 158. [3] ibid, p. 159. [4] ibid, p. 160.

illiberal men's liberalities. The book of *Diarhebion* y^r^ wor. shall see by the bearer, gathered of 2 or 3 several copies and made as large as the former copy lost . . . . I beseech you keep the book *de Statibus*."

It is evident that afterwards an understanding was arrived at concerning the Dictionary, and it came into Sir John Wynn's possession. Correspondence between him and Dr. John Davies proves this. It will be found in the pages of the *Cambrian Register*, 1796. Dr. Davies had ascertained that Sir John Wynn had the Dictionary, and he writes: "I have long been desirous, as I think it is not unknown to you, to see my good old friend Sir Thomas ap William his Dictionary; not so much for any excellent perfection, I could conceive to be in the work, as for the great pains I know the author had taken to gather it, and, whom, my cousin Robert Vaughan tells me, you are pleased, I shall have the book, upon condition, I shall see it printed; and ascribe all the glory to Thomas ap William, and dedicate it unto you."[1]

Sir John Wynn sent him the manuscript, but for some reason Dr. John Davies never fulfilled either of these conditions. His own Dictionary he dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, as we have seen, and although he acknowledges his indebtedness for Part II. of his Dictionary to Thomas Williams, he can hardly be said to have "ascribed all the glory of it" to him. He certainly did qualify his promise to Sir John Wynn with two *ifs*. "*If* I shall see it fit for the press, I will acquaint you therewith." . . . . "*If* the author have dedicated to you, his dedication shall stand." He makes it plain to Sir John that he will not bear the expense of publication—"I know you will not expect I shall be at any charge," and in a second letter he reiterates this: "Now who shall bear that charge is the first thing to be considered." He goes on to mention the need of corrections "in divers places," and adds: "What authority I shall have over it, lieth in your pleasure."

The Dictionary, it would appear, was in his possession some

[1] *Cambrian Register*, 1796, p. 470.

considerable time, for there is evidence that Sir John Wynn grew uneasy either about its return, or because of the delay in printing it. Dr. Davies in his third letter to him, which is evidently a reply, states: "As for the Dictionary, I am neither forgetful of it, nor less than abashed, that I kept it so long, and could do so little good in it. . . . . Before you wished me to get it copied verbatim, I had thought, as I writ before, to go over it by abbreviating and correcting it: But, understanding your pleasure, I went no further in that course, and, according to your will, *I got some to copy it by parts*. I saw their copying of it would do no good; and now it lieth by me, and do nothing to it, till I know your further pleasure. I send you herein enclosed the last sheet of the copy you wished to be made, being the best and truest that is written."

This ends the correspondence with Sir John Wynn, and it is dated, "Malloid, 15° Maii, 1625."

But there is a further letter written by Dr. Davies to Mr. *Owen* Wynn, of Gwydyr. Apparently Sir John Wynn had died in the meantime, and Dr. Davies writes: "Upon your good father's desire, I undertook the review of the Welsh Dictionary of Sir Thomas ap William, but I dwelt so far from your worthy father, and my then troubles occasioned by Mr. Pigot [the man who had delayed the delivery of the MS. from Sir John Wynn to Dr. Davies] hindered my repair to him . . . else it had been ready long ago. . . . . I began upon it April last [*i.e.* April, 1626] among other my many businesses; I made an end of it Saturday last [this letter is dated 23° Jan. 1627] and shewed it to the bearer, *and have much abridged it, and in some places enlarged it; but my own Dictionary* [i.e. the first part], which I began since the year 1593, I do but begin to write fair, yet I hope it will be ready by the beginning of the summer[1] . . . . Sir Thomas ap William hath the Latin first, and the Welsh following: And mine hath the Welsh first, and the Latin after: and both will not much exceed the bulk of Sir

[1] This shows that Dr. Davies meant to finish the work by the summer of 1627. It appeared in 1632.

Thomas' Dictionary, as it is written by himself . . . I will make the more speed, and endeavour to be ready before midsummer."

To summarise this correspondence : Sir John Wynn wished to have the book printed for Thomas Williams. Some arrangement was arrived at by which the latter delivered the MS. into his hands. Sir John thought Dr. Davies the man best qualified to see to its publication, and intended him to copy it *verbatim*. Dr. Davies considered the work too full of inaccuracies to do this. Thomas Williams, it would seem, had died before Dr. Davies received the MS., and during the long time it was in his possession Sir John Wynn died. Dr. Davies, who had his own Dictionary ready, but for the writing of a fair copy, conceived the idea of adding a second part to his book, and for this purpose made extensive but not exhaustive use of Thomas Williams' manuscript.

The question presents itself—did Thomas Williams' *Diarhebion* also fall into Dr. Davies' hands? And what of the *Botanologium* and the rest of the matter at the end of his book? These questions can only be answered when Thomas Williams' work is given to the world, or after some competent scholar has compared the two works. There is more than a tinge of suspicion that the old anchorite of Trefriw, who laboured assiduously for fifty years at his task, has not yet met with his reward at the hands of his countrymen.

James Howell, of Abernant, whose other work has received considerable notice in previous pages, also contributed to this part of our subject what was, perhaps, his most celebrated work, *viz.*, that entitled :

> "Lexicon Tetraglotton, An English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary, whereunto is adjoined a large Nomenclatvre of the proper Terms (in all the fovvr) belonging to several Arts, and Sciences, to Recreations, to Professions both Liberal and Mechanick, &c. Divided to Fiftie two Sections ; With another Volume of the Choicest Proverbs in all the Sayed Toungs, (consisting of divers compleat Tomes) and the English translated into the other Three, to take off the

reproach which useth to be cast upon Her, that She is but barren in this point, and those Proverbs She hath, are but flat and empty: Moreover, Ther are sundry familiar Letters and Verses running all in Proverbs, with a particular Tome of the British, or old Cambrian Sayed-Sawes and Adages, which the author thought fit to annex hereunto, and make Intelligible, for their great Antiquity and Weight: Lastly, there are five Centuries of New Sayings, which, in tract of Time, may serve for Proverbs to Posterity. By the Labours, and Lucubrations of James Howell, Esq. *Senesco, non Segnesco.* London, Printed by Thomas Leach."[1]

The Welsh part of this remarkable book has a separate title-page, and the pages are numbered separately. The Welsh title reads: "Diharebion Cymraeg, VVedu ei cyfieithu yn Saisoneg. British or old Cambrian Proverbs, and Cymraecan Adages, never Englished, (and divers never published) before." There is an "Epistle Dedicatory to the Right Honorable, (My most endeered Lord) Richard, Earl of Carbery, &c. At His Palace in Golden-Grove." It is dated "London 4° Idus Martii, 1658." There is also another dedication, "To the Knovving Reder," and "A Letter to the Author from a worthy Gentleman, who supplied him with som British Proverbs," written by one, Richard Owen, and dated "Eltham in Kent, Aug. 20, 1657."

This work, which must have involved infinite labour, was of more interest to English readers than it could have been to the main body of Welshmen in the Principality at that time, for there are only 48 pages of its contents in the Welsh language. It has many inaccuracies, which show the erratic character of its author, but, nevertheless, it proves him to have been a man of wide interests and considerable attainments. He was certainly a man of genius, but his undertakings were so numerous and the path of his life so uneven, that his work correspondingly suffers. If fate had been kinder, James Howell could have attained a position of eminence both in Welsh and English literature, that would have placed him in the foremost rank of litterateurs of that age.

[1] *Llyfr. y Cymry*, pp. 181-2. *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, pp. 52-3

CHAPTER V

MISCELLANEOUS

THERE are a few eminent Welshmen and writers whose works do not admit of classification in the previous chapters, but who contributed in various ways to literature and other activities in this century.

The purpose of this chapter is "to gather up the fragments that remain," in order to make the survey as complete as space and opportunity will allow.

Arise Evans published a book, in 1652, relating the history of his own strange life. Mr. J. H. Davies in his admirable little book "*Hen Ddewiniaid Cymru*," published in 1901, gives an interesting account of this eccentric character, and of Arise Evans' autobiography he writes, "Nid oes odid lyfr yn yr iaith Seisnig mor rhyfedd a hwn." The author's correct name was Rhys Evans, and he was born at Llangelynin, near Barmouth, in 1607. At a very early age he developed a tendency to mysticism, and claimed to be continually seeing "visions." In 1629 he went to London, and in one of his first "visions" there he saw the city burned to the ground, which is, at least, strange; for the book in which he records this appeared in 1652, fourteen years before the Great Fire took place. He wrote a letter to Charles I. relating many of his weird dreams, and endeavoured to obtain an interview with the King, but his purpose was thwarted. Later on he transferred his attention to the Earl of Essex, who was more approachable, but gave him scant encouragement. When the Civil War broke out, he was very active in London, and was several times imprisoned.

On one occasion he predicted to Oliver Cromwell the restoration of Charles II.[1] and made bold to tell the Protector, in the presence of his daughters, that he should offer one of them in marriage to the fugitive Prince of Wales.

He also prophesied that four more monarchs would reign in England before a change of dynasty; in fact, he mentioned five

[1] *Hen Ddewiniaid Cymru*, p. 20.

crowned heads, which, strangely enough, proved correct, when Queen Mary, the spouse of William III. is included. The year of Evans' death is not known, but he lived to see the Restoration, and it is recorded that he was touched by the King for *King's evil.* The following books and pamphlets were published by him: "The Bloudy Vision of John Farley," 1653; "An Eccho to the Book, called a Voice from Heaven," 1653; "A Voice from Heaven to the Commonwealth of England," 1653; "To His Excellencie The Lord General Cromwell," 1653; "The Voice of the Iron Rod, Being a Seasonable Admonition to Cromwell, and to all Judicious men." 1655; "The Voice of King Charles the Father, to Charles the Son," 1655.

There were also two men named **John Evans,** who flourished as mystics and soothsayers in this period. The first is believed to have been the author of the book called "The Palace of Profitable Pleasure," which was published in 1621.[1] The second was the mentor of the notorious William Lilly, who, in his own biography, relates much of John Evans' history, He mentions that he was a Welshman, who had graduated at Oxford and had held Church preferment in Staffordshire, but had ruined himself through intemperance. In 1634 John Evans published a book entitled, "The Universal Medecine or the Virtues of my Magnetical or Antimonial Cup," of which another edition appeared in 1642. Much confusion has arisen between this John Evans and Arise Evans, to the great disadvantage of the latter.

Richard Baxter made considerable researches in Wales as to divination and spiritualism, and wrote a book on the subject, entitled, "The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits Fully evinced by unquestionable Histories of Apparitions and Witchcrafts, Written for the Conviction of Sadduces and Infidels By Richard Baxter." London. 1691.[2] A Welsh gentleman named John Lewis, of Glasgrug, near Aberystwyth, was in frequent correspondence with Baxter on this subject. The former, who published three books in Welsh, two of which related to education and religion in

[1] *Hen Ddewiniaid Cymru*, p. 26. [2] ibid, p. 38.

Wales, was one of the first to conceive the idea of a National University. In the Civil War he showed strong sympathy with Cromwell and the Parliament." [1]

Thomas Pugh, of whom nothing is known except that he published "British and Outlandish Prophesies," in 1658, a work which is mentioned in the first chapter of this book, was also a mystic, as its title indicates. He wrote that work to please Cromwell, whom he looked upon as the long-expected deliverer of the nation, and predicted for him world-wide influence. The Protector, however, no doubt to Thomas Pugh's discomfiture, died within a short time of its publication.

Sir William Jones was the eldest son and heir of William Jones, Esq., of Castellmarch, in Carnarvonshire,[2] the ancient seat of the family, where he was born in 1566. Wood states that he was educated first at the Free School in Beaumaris, but Canon Williams, in his *Eminent Welshmen*, denies this. Both agree that at the age of 14 he proceeded to St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and that he afterwards went to Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the bar in 1595, became a Bencher in 1611, and was Lent Reader in 1616. He is also said to have spent two years at Furnival's Inn. He was M.P. for Beaumaris 1597-8, and again in 1604-11 and 1614. In 1601 he sat for the county of Carnarvon. In 1617 he was made Sergeant-at-Law, and in the same year was knighted and took up the position of Chief Justice in Ireland, a dignity which he held for three years, and left at his own request. In 1621 he was made a Justice of the Common Pleas, in England, and in 1623 was raised to the King's Bench. He died in his house in Holborn in 1640, and was buried under the chapel of Lincoln's Inn.

His writings are on legal subjects. He collected "Reports of divers special cases in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas," which contain the cases of greatest remark during the time he was Judge in those Courts (1622-1640). These

[1] *Hen Ddewiniaid Cymru*, p. 45. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., pp. 543-4, and Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 266. See also Williams' *Parl. Hist. of Princ. of Wales*.

were published in folio in 1675. He also published "Several Speeches in Parliament." Sir William Jones was a distinguished Welshman, a Counsellor of high repute, and an able Judge. Wood informs us that "he constantly kept Oxford Circuit as Judge."

Thomas Jones, son of Edward Jones, of Nant Eos, Cardiganshire, was born at that place in 1618, elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1638,[1] and after taking his degree he travelled in France and Italy with George Brent, son of Sir Nathan Brent, until about 1647, when he returned to Oxford, submitted to the Parliamentary Visitors, Aug. 6, 1649, and proceeded to his M.A. degree. He afterwards applied himself to the study of Civil Law, and proceeded to a doctorate in that Faculty in 1659. He was a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, and in 1660 he published several books of Jurisprudence,[2] in which he showed great capacity. Their titles are:

1. "Oratio habita in Auditorio juridico, cum Recitationes solennes in Titulum de Judiciis auspicatus est." Oxford, 1660.
2. "De Judiciis, ubi de Persona & Officio Judicis apud Ebræos & Romanos latè disputatur." Printed with the former.
3. "De Origine Dominii & servitutis Theses Juridicæ," also printed with the above.

After leaving Oxford he practised in London at Doctor's Commons. He died of the Great Plague in 1665.

John Roberts, the Benedictine, was born at Trawsfynydd, in Merionethshire, in 1575 or 1576.[3] His father, John Roberts, a man of good lineage, was a merchant, who in his travels married Anna, daughter of Paul Arderike, a native of the duchy of Holstein.[4] At the age of 19 he went to St. John's College, Oxford, the college of Laud and John Scudamore, both of whom were contemporaries, where he matriculated in 1595-6. He left the University in 1598, went to London, and was there admitted

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 361. [2] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p, 262. [3] Camm's *Benedictine Martyr*, p. 21. [4] ibid, p. 23.

into one of the Inns of Court. In the summer of that year he left England for a Continental tour. In Paris he got into touch with numerous Roman Catholic exiles from England, and in the Church of Notre Dame he was received into the Roman communion.[1] He afterwards met Father John Cecil, one of the first English students at Valladolid, who was then staying in Paris. The latter gave Roberts letters to the authorities of the seminary at Valladolid, whence he proceeded in September, 1598, and was admitted into the English College of St. Albans, which had been founded in 1589-90 through the efforts of Robert Parsons, and had by this time 53 students. In the *Liber primi examinis* of that college occurs the following entry, under 1598: "*Joannes Robertus venit ad hoc collegium* 15° *Septembris*," just two days after the death of Philip II. of Spain, a patron of that institution, and the avowed enemy of England. Amongst the Benedictines at Valladolid was Mark Barkworth, who afterwards, like Roberts himself, died on the scaffold. Roberts became known to the Benedictine Order in Spain as *John de Mervinia*[2] (a Latinised form of Merioneth).

Two other Welshmen were prominent in the same institution, viz., Augustine Baker and Leander Jones. In 1600 Roberts was formally received into the Benedictine Order, and was ordained priest in 1602.[3] In that year, in obedience to a papal decree, he set out for England, and arrived there just after the death of Elizabeth in 1603, after staying some months at Paris. Lewis Owen in his "*Running Register*" states that Roberts was the first of the order to derive his *Mission* to England from the Pope, "which made him not a little proud that hee should bee a second *Augustine* monk." His coming had, however, been reported by a spy, a former friend, and he was arrested and thrown into prison, but was released as an act of grace by James I. on his arrival from Scotland, and deported. He went to Douay, but returned in a very short time, and did good service during the great plague which visited England in 1603.[4] He was again arrested, this time

[1] Camm's *Benedictine Martyr*, pp. 42-3. [2] ibid, p. 86. [3] ibid, p. 133. [4] ibid, p. 157.

in the house of Thomas Percy, a conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot, and committed to the Gatehouse prison. At the intercession of the French ambassador, his life was spared, and he was again deported. He remained at Douay for 14 months, and was made first prior of St. Gregory. In 1607 he returned, was arrested, and committed to the same prison, from which he escaped. He was recaptured, but again deported owing to the intervention of the French ambassador. He stayed some time in Spain, but returned to England for the last time in 1610, just after most stringent laws had been passed against Romanists. He was seized and put on his trial at Newgate on Dec. 5th, 1610, before Lord Chief Justice Coke, and other judges. Refusing to take the oath of Allegiance, he confessed to his Orders after some pressure, was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death. The sentence was consummated on Dec. 10th, 1610.

Thomas Jones (Twm Shon Catty) was the natural son of Sir John Wynn, of Gwydir,[1] by Catherine Jones, a native of Tregaron, who lived at Llidiart y Ffynnon, in that village.[2] As a youth he lived a life of wild adventure, and he records his escapades in a very diverting book entitled "The Adventures of Twm Shon Catty." Quite early in life he showed antiquarian propensities, and these were, no doubt encouraged by Dr. John Dafydd Rhys, with whom he became acquainted when the latter was curate of Tregaron. Dr. Rhys took great delight in instructing the sharpwitted youth, and was much revered by him in turn. At the age of 15, Thomas Jones was apprenticed to a farmer at Cwm y Gwern Ddu. Here he was very harshly treated, and fell a victim to that common pest of the time, the smallpox, to which he nearly succumbed. He afterwards entered the Service of Squire Graspacre, the local landowner, who had married Sir John Wynn's sister, where his lot was considerably ameliorated. Under Rhys' tuition his love of reading was developed, and with it came a distaste for servitude. He played several practical jokes upon his master, but never quite lost his favour. Amongst his adventures

[1] Prichard's edn. of *Twm Shon Catty* (1859), p. 8. [2] ibid, p. 9.

were included singing ballads at Cardigan fair in the disguise of a woman, and rescuing the lady of Ystrad Feen, in addition to several exploits in which he got the better of highwaymen. He afterwards went to London, and in rather a pathetic scene disclosed his identity to his father. His career of adventure ended by marrying the widow of Sir George Devereux, of Ystrad Feen, to whom he had once revealed his affection in *Cywydd y Gofid*. He built a mansion at the side of his mother's cottage, and settled down into a respectable and useful citizen, becoming J.P. for the county of Brecon. He was of some celebrity as an antiquary, poet, and genealogist, and his knowledge of heraldry is said to have been profound. He died in 1620.[1]

John Jones, Ll.D., entered Jesus College, Oxford,[2] in 1672, and studied Law. He afterwards practised physic at Windsor, and became Chancellor of Llandaff. He was a man of learning and ingenuity, and in 1683 he published a Latin treatise on intermittent fevers. He died in 1709.

John Jones, son of John Jones, of Llanelian, in Denbighshire, was entered as Student in New Inn, Oxford, in 1675, aged 20 years, and was afterwards transferred to Trinity College, from which he took the B.A. degree in 1681. He subsequently became Usher of the Free School at St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, and was esteemed a good Latin poet. He wrote :

"Fanum S. Albani Poema carmine Heroico." Lond. 1683. and dedicated the book to Sir Hardbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls. He died a young man in 1686, and as a mark of the respect in which he was held, a public memorial was placed over his grave at St. Alban's.[3]

Walter Rumsey was born at Llanover, in Monmouth, in 1584, proceeded to Gloucester Hall, Oxford, at the age of 16, and afterwards to Gray's Inn, where he was made Barrister, Bencher, and Lent Reader. In 1635 he was appointed Puisne Judge in the Brecon Circuit, and in 1637 he became Chief Justice. He was so eminent in his profession that he was called

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 262. [2] ibid, p. 256. [3] *Athen : Oxon* : ii., p. 799.

"the picklock of the Law."[1] In 1640 he was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for Monmouth, and entered Parliament, but he refused to serve in the Long Parliament. He had other pursuits besides the law, and Wood states[2] that he was a most ingenious man, and that "he had a philosophical head and was a good musician, and most curious for grafting, inoculating, and planting." He invented the *provang*, a medical instrument made of whalebone, to cleanse the throat and stomach. His book, entitled *Organon Salutis*, 1657 and 1659, is a description of this instrument. He added to this another work, "Divers new experiments of the virtue of Tobacco and Coffee," to which Sir Henry Blount and James Howell wrote commendatory Epistles. Sir Walter Rumsey died in 1660, and was buried in the parish church at Llanover.

Thomas Vaughan (1622-1666), twin brother of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, was born on April 17th, 1622, at Skethrog, Brecon, went to school at Llangattock, where he was taught by the rector of that parish, and received from him a sound classical education. In 1638 he proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, but was disturbed by the Civil war, and returned to his native county, where he became rector of Llansantffraid. He was ejected under the Commonwealth, and returned to Oxford, where he became the most famous alchemist of the day. Under the pseudonym *Eugenius Philalethes* he published some most curious books. He was also a very zealous Rosicrucian. He greatly admired the works of Cornelius Agrippa,[3] especially his *Occult Philosophy*. He followed his principles in most of his books, and in matters of philosophy he acknowledged that next to God he owed Cornelius Agrippa all that he had. He praised him in such poetical strains as the following:

> "Nature's Apostle and her choice High Priest,
> Her mystical and bright Evangelist."

He always expressed himself strongly, on the other hand, against the Aristotelian philosophy. In religion, Wood describes

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 463-4. [2] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., p. 255. [3] ibid, pp. 368-70.

him as "neither Papist nor Sectary, but a true resolute Protestant in the true sense of the Church of England."

He published in 1650 "*Anthroposophia Theomagica*, or, A discourse of the Nature of Man and his state after death grounded on his Creator's Proto Chemistry, and verified by a practicall Examination of Principles in the Great World. By Eugenius Philalethes. London. Printed by T. W. for H. Blunaen at the Castle in Cornhill. 1650."

In the same year appeared "*Anima Magica Abscondita*, or, A discourse of the universall Spirit of Nature, with his strange, abstruse, miraculous ascent and descent. By Eugenius Philalethes. London. Printed by T. W. for H. B. 1650."

It will be seen that his works were on abstruse subjects, and that the author was something of a mystic and poet, in addition to his eminence as a chemist. He also wrote "*Magia Adamica*, or, The Antiquity of Magic, and "*Lumen de Lumine*," 1651. His death happened in 1666.[1]

John Vaughan, a noted lawyer of this century, eldest son of Edward Vaughan, of Trawscoed, was born in 1608 at Trawscoed. in Cardiganshire, educated at the King's Grammar School at Worcester, and was afterwards admitted to Christ's Church, Oxford, at the age of fifteen. He was called to the bar in 1630 at the Inner Temple, made a Bencher in 1660, and obtained a considerable practice as an advocate. He was at first more bent, however, on his academical studies of poetry and mathematics than on the study of the law. But some time afterwards, making the acquaintance of Selden and others, he devoted himself to the study of Civil Law, especially English Law, in which he distinguished himself. He married Letitia, the daughter of John Stedman, of Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire. He was a burgess for the town of Cardigan, 1628-9 to 1640, and again from 1640 to 1645.[2] In the latter year, disapproving of the doings of Parliament, he retired to his native county, and remained there

[1] Wood gives 1665 (see Athenæ Oxon : ii., pp. 253-4). Garnett and Gosse give 1666. *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, iii., p. 64. [2] Williams' *Parl. Hist. of the Princ. of Wales*, p. 31.

until the Restoration. At the accession of Charles II., he was elected Knight for the County of Cardigan for the Parliament which met in 1661, and the King took notice of his great attainments and experience, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. In 1668 he was sworn Sergeant-at-Law in the Court of Chancery, and almost immediately afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,[1] which he presided over with great dignity and legal acumen. He died in 1674, and was buried in the Temple Church, near the grave of John Selden. In 1677, his son Edward Vaughan published a collection of his works, consisting of Reports and Arguments on many Special Cases, which John Vaughan, as Lord Chief Justice, had decided in the Court of Common Pleas. This famous judge was one of the most accomplished men of his age. His biographer, in the *Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales*, states that "to his great abilities . . . he united a strong attachment to the English constitution, which prevented his being too great an advocate for the prerogatives of the Crown." He suffered considerably during the Rebellion, and his petition to the King in 1660 shows that he was plundered and made to compound for his estates, in addition to being restrained from exercising his profession as a lawyer. Some of the above details of his life have been gleaned from the inscription over his tomb in the Temple Church.

Sir William Williams, Knight and Baronet, of Llanforda, Salop, and Nantyanog, Anglesey, was the eldest son of Hugh Williams, D.D., of Llantrisant, Anglesey. He was admitted to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1650, and became Scholar in 1652, and afterwards went to Gray's Inn, and became a barrister in 1658. In 1667 he was appointed Recorder of Chester, and was M.P. for that city from 1675 to 1681.[2] In 1689-90, and again in 1695-8 he sat for Beaumaris. He was elected Speaker of the House of Commons 1679-81. When the Popish Plot broke out he sided with the dominant party, and after the Presbyterian Plot outbreak

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., p. 536. [2] *Parl. Hist. of Princ. of Wales*, p. 11.

in 1683, he was an ardent advocate of their cause. In 1687 he was made Solicitor-General by James II. and received the honour of knighthood, and afterwards in 1688, a baronetcy. He published several speeches made in the House of Commons,[1] and amongst them that made by himself when he was elected Speaker in 1679, also a "Speech to His Majesty," made on the occasion of his presentation as Speaker in 1680, and "A Speech made to Sir Robert Peyton upon his expulsion from the House, 1680." The language in this last oration is not above reproach. It was afterwards published under the title, "A Specimen of the Rhetoric, Candor, Gravity, and Ingenuity of William Williams, Speaker to the House of Commons, in his Speech to Sir Robert Peyton."

In 1685 Williams was tried for libel for printing Thomas Dangerfield's information,[2] given to the House, and although he pleaded privilege of Parliament, he was fined £10,000 by the Court of King's Bench, but the sentence was afterwards (1688) declared illegal. He died in 1700. His grandson became the the first Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., of Wynnstay.

Robert Price, known as "the patriot of his native country," was born at Gilar, Cerrig-y-Drudion, in 1653. He was educated at Wrexham Grammar School,[3] proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1672, and afterwards to Lincoln's Inn. He then perfected his education by travels in France and Italy. He married on his return the daughter of Robert Rudd, of Foxley, who had a considerable inheritance, and he afterwards made Foxley his home. He became Attorney General for Glamorgan, 1684-5, for South Wales, 1685-9, Recorder of Gloucester, 1685-7. In 1684 he had been appointed one of the Stewards to Charles II.'s Dowager, and in 1686 King's Counsel at Ludlow.[4] On the accession of William III., he was removed from his offices, and when the King appointed a favourite, William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, a Dutchman, as lord of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, Robert Price took up an attitude of most determined opposition

[1] *Athen* : *Oxon* : ii., p. 1092. [2] Williams' *Parl. Hist. of Princ. of Wales*, p. 11. [3] Williams' *Welsh Judges*, p. 143. [4] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 419.

to him, and declared that "the submitting of 1,500 freeholders to the will of a Dutch lord was putting them in a worse posture than their former estate." He argued that according to the "Bill of Rights" William III. could not give away the estates of the Prince of Wales without the consent of Parliament. The result of his determined stand was that the King withdrew the grant to William Bentinck. After the death of William III., Robert Price's speech was printed, under the title, "*Gloria Cambriæ*, or, the Speech of a bold Briton in Parliament against a Dutch Prince of Wales." Price sat in Parliament as member for Weobley. In 1700 he was made Second Justice of Brecknock, and in 1702 Sergeant at Law. On the accession of Queen Anne he was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer, 1702-26, and Justice of the Common Pleas, 1726-32. He died in the latter year and was buried at Yazor Church, in Herefordshire.[1] His "Life" was published in London in 1734.

Richard Davies, of Cloddiau Cochion, a very prominent Quaker, was born at Welshpool in 1635. He first of all left the Establishment and became an Independent, but afterwards, in 1657, joined the Quakers and ardently disseminated their tenets, suffering persecution and imprisonment on that account. His disputation with Bishop William Lloyd was, perhaps, the most prominent public event of his life. In 1702, he with eleven others, presented an address to the Queen in person, and on his way home he visited Bishop Lloyd at Worcester. He wrote an autobiography, which is very quaint and interesting. It is a curious volume, and throws considerable light on the social state of Wales in the seventeenth century. The work is entitled "An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services, and Travels of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies, with some relations of ancient Friends, and the spreading of truth in North Wales," and it passed through six editions. Richard Davies died at Cloddiau Cochion in 1708.[2]

[1] See Williams' *Welsh Judges*, p. 143. [2] See Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 110.

Henry Rowland, Bishop of Bangor, was born at Mellteyrn, in Lleyn, *c.* 1551. He received his early education in the school at Penllech,[1] and was admitted to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in 1569, taking his B.A. degree from New College in 1574, and M.A. in 1577. In 1591 he proceeded B.D., and in 1605 D.D. After spending nine years as rector of his native parish, he was preferred to the benefice of Launton, near Bister or Bicester, in Oxfordshire, in 1581. In 1583 he was appointed sinecure rector of Aberdaron, and in 1584 Prebendary of Penmynydd. In 1588 he became Archdeacon of Anglesey, and Dean of Bangor in 1593. In 1598 he was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in succession to Bishop Richard Vaughan, his fellow-countryman, kinsman, and intimate. A monument existed to each in Bangor Cathedral until the Cromwellian iconoclasts destroyed them. Bishop Rowland presented the Cathedral with four bells in place of those which Arthur Bulkley, one of his predecessors, had taken away.[2] Wood is wrong in stating that Bishop Rowland was a celibate. On the contrary, he was the first married rector of Launton, after the Reformation.[3] He married a widow named Frances Cotesford, whose maiden name was Hutchins.

He died on July 6, 1616, and was buried on the north side of the chancel at Bangor Cathedral, in front of the altar, "among the sepulchres of the Bishops," as Wood states. In 1609 he had given lands to Jesus College, Oxford, for the maintenance of two Scholars or Fellows there.[4] By his last Will and Testament he also bequeathed moneys for the erection of a school in his native parish, Bottwnog and Mellteyrn. In his Will he had also made provision for repairs to the Cathedral, and for the poor of several parishes in his diocese, for whom he erected almshouses in Bangor.

Thomas Jones (Shrewsbury) was born at Tre'r Ddôl, near Corwen, in 1648, and in his boyhood removed to London. He published his first Welsh Almanac in 1680, having obtained

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: i., p 620. [2] ibid. [3] *Esgob Henry Rowland*, by Archdeacon Morgan, p. 20. [4] Wood's *Athenæ*, i., p. 620.

Letters Patent from Charles II. for printing and publishing it, in the previous year.[1] These almanacs were booklets of 28 pages, and were of a size suited for the pocket. They were usually sold at two pence per copy, a very reasonable price considering the value of their contents. The latter were usually arranged as follows: A general Introduction reviewing the previous year, astronomical notes for the coming year, a few pages of poems or prose, or both; a calendar with forecasts as to coming events, and weather; the Welsh fairs; and a miscellaneous assortment of announcements, particularly of forthcoming books. The literary portion sometimes contained verse and prose of merit, and these almanacs form an interesting field of research, in which many a literary gem has been discovered. They did some service at a time when the language received little attention.

Thomas Jones was the first to establish a Welsh newspaper. He ventured a monthly publication in 1690, which he mentions in his Almanac for 1691 (page 4). The experiment proved a failure, however. That Thomas Jones was an enterprising publisher is amply testified. His two editions of the Welsh *Book of Common Prayer* have already been mentioned; he also published a popular Welsh and English Dictionary. He himself could also write with freshness and vigour.

His first fifteen almanacs were printed in London, where he had lived most of his life, and kept a combined bookseller and chemist's shop from 1679-1695, in different parts of the city.

In the latter year he removed to Shrewsbury, and opened a Welsh printing-press there without delay. This was the first Welsh press ever established, and it proved an important event for the Principality. Shrewsbury became the centre for Welsh publications for at least half a century. Presses at Caerleon, Adpar, and Carmarthen were set up later, so that Thomas Jones can claim to be the father of the Welsh press. Apart from his Almanacs, the first Welsh book he published was "Llyfr Carolau a Dyrïau Duwiol," in 1696. This was a second and revised

[1] *Cymdeithas Han. Bed. Cymru*, 1912-13, p. 10.

edition of Ffoulk Owen's *Cerdd-Lyfr*, 1686. It must be remembered that Thomas Jones had previously printed several Welsh books in London, *e.g.*, "Llyfr Plygain," 1683; "Y Gwir er gwaethed yw," 1684; "Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin a Psalmau Cân Edmund Prys," 1687; "Y Gymraeg yn ei Disgleirdeb," 1688; "Y Namyn-un-deugain Erthyglau Eglwys Loegr," 1688; "Esboniad neu Ysbysiad o Gatechism yr Eglwys," between 1685-88.[1]

When the S.P.C.K. was established in London, in 1698, that Society commended and circulated several of Thomas Jones' publications, and he published for the Society several of their early pamphlets, which were circulated by the thousand in the Welsh Charity Schools.

His Almanacs appeared regularly from 1680 to 1712, and it is believed he died in the latter year. Small as the publication was, it was highly valued by thousands of Welshmen in that age, when advantages were so meagre, and Thomas Jones must be regarded as a real benefactor to his country at a time when there were no railways, no postal system, or, at least, a very crude one, and very little news reached rural and remote parts.

Sir George Jeffreys was the sixth son of John Jeffreys, of Acton, near Wrexham, and grandson of John Jeffreys, Justice of the Anglesey Circuit (1617-22). He was born at Acton in 1648, educated at Shrewsbury and Westminster, and proceeded thence to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1662. He entered the Inner Temple in the following year, became Barrister in 1668, K.C. in 1677, Bencher in 1679, Sergeant at Law in 1680, King's Sergeant in the same year, was knighted in 1677, and appointed Recorder of Windsor, 1685-8. Other dignities that he held were, Common Sergeant of London, 1671-8, Recorder of London, 1678-80, Solicitor-General to the Duke of York, 1677, Chief Justice of Chester, 1680-3, and J.P. for Flintshire, 1680.[2]

He brought himself into considerable prominence in the trial of Lord William Russell for treason, in which he acted as prose-

[1] *Cymdeithas Han. Bed. Cymru*, p. 15. [2] *Welsh Judges*, by W. R. Williams, p. 41.

cuting Counsel for the Crown. For his services he was rewarded by Charles II. with the dignity of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1683. As such he presided over the trials of Algernon Sidney and Sir Thomas Armstrong, both of whom he condemned to death, it is said, on insufficient evidence.[1] The well-known Titus Oates and Richard Baxter were also tried by him. In 1681 he had been created a baronet, and in 1685 was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Jeffreys of Wem, Salop. He was Lord High Chancellor from 1685 to 1688, and Lord High Steward in 1686. In the latter capacity he presided over the trial of Lord Delamere. But he is best known for his work as President of the Special Assize in Somerset and the West, when he dealt so unmercifully with the unfortunate followers of the Duke of Monmouth after the rebellion. It was afterwards known as the "Bloody Assizes," and Jeffreys so covered himself with opprobrium for his refusal to listen to any appeals for mercy that his name has been handed down as "Hanging Judge Jeffreys." He is generally thought to have been a clever but unscrupulous man. He had identified himself with most of James II.'s arbitrary measures, and when the Revolution broke out in 1688, he was sent to the Tower. His death in April, 1689, either "from a broken heart, or from hard drinking," as Pennant observes, saved him from the inevitable public disgrace which would have followed his merciless tyranny.

Archbishop John Dolben was born in 1624. The Dolbens were a well-known Denbighshire family, whose seat was at Segrwyd or Isegrwyd in that county. One of them, David Dolben, had become bishop of the ancient see of Bangor in 1631, and was a prelate of great learning, piety and zeal, an able Welsh scholar and preacher.[2]

The Archbishop was the son of Dr. William Dolben, rector of Stanwick, Northants. He was sent to Westminster School in 1636, and was elected a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in

[1] *Welsh Judges* by W. R. Williams, p. 41. [2] *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 206.

1640, at the age of fifteen. During the Civil Wars he bore arms for the King, and was a major in the Royal army, taking part at Marston Moor and in the defence of York.[1] He returned to Christ Church and took the degree of M.A. in 1647,[2] and was afterwards ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors. At the Restoration he was installed Canon of Christ Church in 1660, and proceeded to a doctorate in Divinity. His next preferment was to the Archdeaconry of London, and he afterwards became Clerk of the Closet and Dean of Westminster in 1662, and Bishop of Rochester in 1666. Later he became Almoner to the King, and managed his office, as Wood informs us, "to the benefit of the poor, and with great justice and integrity." On the death of Dr. Sterne, Archbishop of York, he was elected his successor in 1683.

The well-known archbishop, John Williams, was his uncle, and he imitated the latter both in the greatness of his parts and in holding two of the dignities which he had enjoyed, *viz.*, the deanery of Westminster and the archiepiscopate of the Northern Province. He died of the smallpox in April, 1686, aged 62, and was buried at York Minster. His character as given by Wood, and copied by him from the inscription on his monument[3] at that cathedral, is as follows: "In Senatu & Ecclesiis, Eloquentiæ gloriâ; In Diocæsibus suis Episcopali diligentia; In omnium piorum animis, justâ veneratione semper victurâ."

Sir John Trevor, Knight, was the second son of John Trevor, of Brynkynallt, and cousin to Judge Jeffreys, who was his patron. He was born in 1637, admitted to the Inner Temple in 1654, called to the bar in 1661, became Bencher in 1673, Treasurer in 1674, Reader in 1675, K.C. in 1678. He was knighted in 1671, and sat in Parliament for Castle Rising, Norfolk, from 1673 to 1679, for county Denbigh in 1681, and again in 1685-7, for Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) from 1690 to 1695. He was appointed Speaker of the House of Commons in 1685, and held that position until the end of James II.'s reign. In

[1] *Athen*: *Oxon*: ii., pp. 792-3. [2] ibid, 792. [3] Much of the information respecting the details of his career is derived from the monument over his grave at York Minster. The dates are also supplied from this source.

1690 he was re-appointed and continued in office five years. In 1688 he had been made a Privy Councillor, and he held the dignity of Master of the Rolls from 1685 to 1689. Williams, in his *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, states that Sir John Trevor was a man "of considerable learning and talent, and one of the most influential Tories in the Kingdom. He was a benefactor to Denbigh, principal founder of its Grammar School, and donor of charities for its poor." Evelyn, on the other hand, describes him as "a bold, bad man," and records that he was expelled from the House of Commons for accepting bribes, in 1695. Another authority, "The Historical Register," states that he filled all his offices "with that acuteness of understanding, solidity of judgment, and great sufficiency, especially in the Chair and upon the Bench, that few or none had ever excelled him. He was a true lover of his country, and in all reigns a firm and constant patriot of our constitution, both in Church and State."[1]

Griffith Powell, D.C.L., was the third son of John ap Howell,[2] of Llansawel, in Carmarthenshire, where he was born in 1561. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1581, and took degrees in Arts and Civil Law.[3] He became Fellow of the College in 1590, took his D.C.L. degree in 1599, and in 1613 was appointed Principal. During his tenure of that office he considerably advanced the fortunes of Jesus College. Fellowships and Scholarships were increased, and considerable sums raised from the Principality through his energy, for additional buildings, notably the Chapel and the Hall, which were, however, completed a few months after his death. He was accounted an eminent philosopher, and Wood pays him tribute for his work as tutor and adviser amongst the junior members of the College, as well as for his subtlety as a disputant amongst the learned men of his day at Oxford. His works are:

1. "Analysis Analyticorum posteriorum seu librorum Aristotelis de Demonstratione, cum Scholiis." Oxon. 1594.

[1] Williams' *Parl. Hist. of the Princ. of Wales*, p. 75. [2] Hardy's *Jesus College*, p. 34. [3] *Athen: Oxon:* i., p. 383.

2. "Analysis libri Aristotelis de Sophisticis Elenchis." 1598.[1] Second edition, 1664.

The following lines in satire were written of these two books by an Oxford wit:

> "Griffith Powell, for the honour of his nation,
> Wrote a Book of Demonstration.
> And having little else to doe,
> He wrote a book of Elenchs too."

He was also the author of other philosophical works. He died in June, 1620, and by a verbal request (he made no will) left his whole estate amounting to £648 17*s.* 2*d.* to Jesus College,[2] with which land was purchased for the maintenance of one Fellow of the said College.[3]

Sir Leoline Jenkins, D.C.L., was the son of Jenkin Llewelyn, and was born in 1625 at Llanblethian,[4] in Glamorganshire. He was educated at Cowbridge School, and proceeded thence to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1641, recommended to that institution by Judge David Jenkins. During the Civil War he sided with the King and took part in some expeditions. He retired to Wales in 1648, and returned to Oxford for a short time in 1651, but found the atmosphere of the University at that time so uncongenial that he withdrew with some of his pupils beyond the seas. He travelled for five years in France, Germany, and Holland, and acquired a knowledge of foreign languages which afterwards stood him in good stead. At the Restoration he returned to Jesus College, was made Fellow, and subsequently, in 1661, Principal of the College, "by the unanimous consent of all the Fellows."[5]

His profound knowledge of Civil and Maritime Law led to his appointment as assistant to Dr. Exton as Judge of the Admiralty during the Dutch War, and he afterwards held the sole appointment in that office. The importance of the position may be gauged from the fact that he gave 436 final sentences in two years, and had suitors before him "from almost all nations."[6]

[1] Wood wrongly gives this date as 1594. [2] Hardy's *Jesus College*, p. 71. [3] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 412. [4] Hardy's *Jesus College*, pp. 131-2. [5] ibid, p. 131. [6] ibid, p. 135.

In 1665 he was made Judge in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In 1669 he was knighted by Charles II. for his able conduct of negotiations respecting the personal property of Queen Henrietta Maria. In 1670 he was one of the Commissioners who tried to pave the way for the union between England and Scotland. In 1673 he represented England in the Congress at Cologne, which proved abortive. In 1676 another Conference was held at Nymwegen, in which he was chief of the three English representatives. He ultimately succeeded in composing all the differences preparatory to the Treaty of 1679. For his services he was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1680,[1] and Secretary of State. He died of the excessive strain of his arduous life in 1685, and was buried at Jesus College, of which Foundation he was looked upon as almost "a Second Founder," for he left it the greatest part of his estates, increasing the income of that college by about £700 a year. He had contributed liberally during his lifetime to the building of the Library there. He also behaved very generously towards his old school at Cowbridge, and established a close connection between it and Jesus College.

All his letters and papers were collected and printed in two folio volumes by W. Wynne in 1724, under the title "Works of Sir Leoline Jenkins," and a biographical account prefixed.

William Maurice, who lived at Cefnybraich, in the parish of Llansilin, was a gentleman of landed property, and a most industrious collector and transcriber of Welsh manuscripts. At his home he built a library three stories high,[2] in which he spent most of his time in the study of Welsh literature. His invaluable collection of MSS. was afterwards preserved at Wynnstay. In Volume I. of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* there is published an account of the Civil War taken from the notes of William Maurice. The year of his death is unknown. Canon Williams states that he died between 1680 and 1690.

[1] Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 249-51. [2] ibi', p. 318.

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